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This report of an advisory panel to the Chicago Board of Education deals with desegregation of the public schools, and offers a plan "by which any educational, psychological, and emotional problems or inequities in the school system" can be removed. The introduction deals with historical and legal background and the problem of integration in a pluralistic society; a summary of the Panel's findings, recommendations with their rationale; and a general discussion of implementation. The panel's findings on de facto segregation are discussed in relation to racial composition of student body (schools are defined as integrated when they are at least 10% Negro and 10% white), and the racial distribution of teachers. Quality of Education in white, integrated, and Negro schools is discussed in terms of overcrowding; class size; student-staff ratio; teaching staff; attendances; dropouts and mobility; achievement; curriculum and teaching methods; and physical facilities. Recommendations, based on the currently accepted premises about the value of desegregation, stress that the principle of the neighborhood school must be modified to achieve the "higher priority" of expanding "the freedom of individual choice." Appendices include policy statements, social-psychological material on segregation, and tables of data on which recommendations were based. A study guide for the report is included. (NH)

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REPORT

TO

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION
CITY OF CHICAGO

by

**The Advisory Panel on
Integration of the Public Schools**

March 31, 1964

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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Integration of the Public Schools —Chicago

UD 003 321

Report to the the Board of Education,
City of Chicago, by the Advisory
Panel on Integration of the Public
Schools, March 31, 1964

Philip M. Hauser, *Chairman*
Sterling M. McMurrin, *Vice-Chairman*
James M. Nabrit, Jr.
Lester W. Nelson
William R. Odell

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CHICAGO, ILL., March 31, 1964

The Honorable Clair M. Roddewig
President, The Board of Education
City of Chicago

DEAR MR. RODDEWIG:

We herewith transmit the results of our study together with our recommendations relating to *de facto* segregation and its consequences in the Chicago Public Schools – a task assigned to us by the Board's resolution of August 28, 1963.

The Panel is pleased to state that it is unanimous in submitting its findings and recommendations.

We wish to thank you for the assistance you have given us, and we wish to acknowledge the excellent co-operation we have received from the General Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Benjamin C. Willis, and his administrative associates, especially Dr. Eileen C. Stack and Dr. Arthur R. Lehne, and from Mr. Paul Zuber, counsel for the plaintiffs in *Webb* v. *The Board of Education of the City of Chicago.* We appreciate also the assistance of the teachers and the many leaders of religious, civic, business, labor, and professional organizations who have met with us.

Finally, we have been fortunate to have had the services of Robert L. Crain, who served as study director, Gerald E. Sroufe and William C. McCready, who served as research assistants, and Mrs. Margo A. Kasdan, the staff secretary.

Respectfully submitted,

PHILIP M. HAUSER, *Chairman*
STERLING M. MCMURRIN, *Vice-Chairman*
JAMES M. NABRIT, JR.
LESTER W. NELSON
WILLIAM R. ODELL

RESOLUTION ESTABLISHING THE PANEL

WHEREAS, Without design on the part of the Board of Education or the school administration, there are schools under the jurisdiction of the Board which are attended entirely or predominantly by Negroes; and

WHEREAS, There exists public controversy as to the racial composition of such schools, and the psychological, emotional, and social influences that may be brought to bear on the pupils in such schools and any harmful effects thereof on educational processes; and

WHEREAS, Some experts in the fields of education and the social sciences believe that certain educational, psychological, and emotional problems arise out of attendance of children at entirely or predominantly Negro schools; be it

Resolved, That this Board hereby reaffirms its policy to provide the best possible educational opportunity for all of the pupils in the school system so that every child may achieve his maximum development, and to recognize and work toward the maximum resolution of every problem or inequity that may exist in the system, including the elimination of any inequities that may prevail as a result of certain schools in the system being attended entirely or predominantly by Negroes, and to attempt to solve any educational, psychological, and emotional problems that might prevail in the public school system to the maximum extent of its financial, human, and other resources; be it further

Resolved, That the Board forthwith invite

Philip M. Hauser
Lester W. Nelson
Sterling M. McMurrin
James M. Nabrit, Jr.
William R. Odell*

as a panel to analyze and study the school system in particular regard to schools attended entirely or predominantly by Negroes, define any problems that result therefrom, and formulate and report to this Board as soon as may be conveniently possible a plan by which any educational, psychological, and emotional problems or inequities in the school system that prevail may best be eliminated; be it further

Resolved, That on the submission of such report, which shall be no later than December 31, 1963, unless an extension is requested by the panel, this Board shall promptly take such action as it may determine is appropriate or required to work toward a resolution of any problems and any inequities found to exist.

NOTE—It should be noted that the panel requested an extension of its deadline to March 31, 1964.

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* William R. Odell replaced John Hannah, who was unable to serve.

PART I

BACKGROUND

PART I

BACKGROUND

Introduction

1 An Advisory Panel of five members was created by the Chicago Board of Education by a Resolution of August 28, 1963, to study the problem of segregation in the public schools. The establishment of this Panel was agreed upon to effect an out-of-court settlement in the suit, *Webb* v. *The Board of Education of the City of Chicago.* In its Resolution (see p. vii) the Board of Education stated that "without design on the part of the Board of Education or the school administration, there are schools under the jurisdiction of the Board which are attended entirely or predominantly by Negroes," and that "there exists public controversy as to the racial composition of such schools, and the psychological, emotional, and social influences that may be brought to bear on the pupils in such schools and any harmful effects thereof on educational processes."

2 The Board of Education assigned to the Panel the following task: "to analyze and study the school system in particular regard to schools attended entirely or predominantly by Negroes, define any problems that result therefrom, and formulate and report to the Board as soon as may be conveniently possible, a plan by which any educational, psychological, and emotional problems or inequities in the school system that prevail may best be eliminated." The Board also resolved that on the receipt of the Panel's report "the Board shall promptly take such action as it may determine is appropriate or required to work toward a resolution of any problems involved and any inequities found to exist."

3 The full appointment of the Panel was not achieved until October 30, 1963, but work was begun with limited membership in a meeting with the General Superintendent of Schools, Benjamin C. Willis, on September 17 and 18. Since September 17, the Panel as a whole has met for a total of twenty-four days and, in addition, conducted its business through the activities of individual Panel members and its staff.

4 The Panel appointed by the Board of Education, with the participation and consent of Paul Zuber, attorney for the plaintiffs in *Webb* v. *The Board of Education,* includes Philip M. Hauser, Professor and Chairman, Department of Sociology, University of

Chicago; Sterling M. McMurrin, Professor of Philosophy, University of Utah, and former United States Commissioner of Education; James M. Nabrit, Jr., President of Howard University; Lester W. Nelson, formerly principal of Scarsdale High School, and retired as Associate Program Director of the Education Division of the Ford Foundation; and William R. Odell, Professor of Education, Stanford University. Philip M. Hauser was elected chairman, and Sterling M. McMurrin vice-chairman of the Panel. In a major way, of course, the recommendations of the Panel are based on the collective training and experience of its members, who have been professionally engaged in education or research for an average of more than thirty-five years. The Panel appointed Assistant Professor Robert L. Crain of the University of Chicago as director of studies, William C. McCready and Gerald E. Sroufe as research assistants, and Margo A. Kasdan as staff secretary.

5 The report of the Panel is divided into four parts and the appendixes.

Part I, the Introduction, contains brief background material, historical and legal, and considers the general problem of integration in a pluralistic society.

Part II summarizes the findings of the Panel's study of the Chicago Public School System. This study, by reason of its brief life span and limited facilities, was neither comprehensive nor intensive and was not designed as an exhaustive research undertaking. It was rather a probing review intended to provide a factual basis for the Panel's recommendations. A study of the entire school system is now being directed by Professor Robert J. Havighurst of the University of Chicago.

Part III presents the Panel's recommendations, with some discussion of the rationale of the proposals set forth.

Part IV contains some concluding observations including stress on the need to implement the Panel's recommendations in a systematic and orderly manner.

The appendixes include the documentation on the basis of which the Panel, in part, reached its conclusions.

Demographic and Social Background

6 Negro children and teachers and other staff in the Chicago Public School System are, by and large, concentrated in predominantly Negro schools located in predominantly Negro areas in the City (see Part II). This *de facto* segregation in the public schools

is not unique to Chicago. It is a pattern common to many central cities with relatively large Negro populations in the metropolitan United States, even when there is no *de jure* segregation; that is, legally enacted provision for segregated schools.

7 In a fundamental sense, *de facto* segregation is not the result of the intent or design of the Board of Education of Chicago, nor of boards of education in most other metropolitan areas. *De facto* segregation in the schools, given the widespread traditional neighborhood school policy, is a by-product of segregated patterns of settlement and housing in this and other cities. Such concentrations of Negro population within central cities are the product of forces built deep into the social, economic, and political fabric of the nation. It is important to understand the demographic, social, and historical background of *de facto* segregation as a first step toward solution of the problems which it generates.

8 The following summarizes the salient points in the historical background and in the demographic prospect:

9 1. Although Negroes have resided in the United States for over three centuries, they have not, in general, been able to enter the main stream of American life until the present generation. In 1860, 92 per cent of all Negroes in the nation resided in the South. Half a century later, in 1910, the concentration was reduced by only three percentage points — 89 per cent still lived in the South. Moreover, as recently as 1910, 73 per cent of the Negroes in the United States were inhabitants of rural areas. Yet within half a century, less than a single lifetime, the urban-rural distribution of Negroes has been reversed and the regional imbalance greatly modified. By 1960, 73 per cent of the Negroes, a higher proportion than of the white population, lived in cities; and 40 per cent lived in the North and West. Half the Negro population, in 1960, resided in the central cities of metropolitan areas; that is, central cities having fifty thousand or more population.

10 2. The Negro population in Chicago, 44 thousand or 2 per cent of the total population of the City in 1910, increased over eighteenfold to reach a total of 812 thousand, or 23 per cent of the population by 1960. It increased by 214 thousand, or 77 per cent, between 1940 and 1950; and by 321 thousand, or 63 per cent, between 1950 and 1960. The growth of the Negro population has been of unprecedented magnitude and speed for any one ethnic or racial group in the history of the City.

11 3. As the Negro population has increased in Chicago, as in

other metropolitan central cities, the white population has spread outward into surrounding suburbia. In Chicago, the white population has decreased at an accelerating pace for three successive decades. Between 1950 and 1960, while the Negro population in Chicago increased by 321 thousand, the white population decreased by 399 thousand. In 1960, Negroes made up 23 per cent of the population of the city but only 14 per cent of the six counties that make up the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.

12 4. The entree of the Negro to Chicago paralleled that of the the early white immigrant groups in at least three respects: location in space, location in the economy, and location in the social order. In brief, Negroes, like their white immigrant predecessors, entered the city in the inner slum areas in concentrated or segregated fashion; they did the dirty work with the lowest pay; they were greeted with suspicion, hostility, and prejudice, and subjected to discriminatory practices.

13 5. The concentration or segregation of Negroes, like that of white immigrants, was not only the result of external pressures, but also of internal forces. Negro in-migrants, like white immigrants before them, usually came to live with relatives, friends, and people from the same town or area of origin. As with the white immigrant groups in Chicago, for example the Irish, German, Polish, Jewish and Italian communities, it must be anticipated that enclaves of Negroes will continue to exist on a voluntary basis for a long time even after all economic and social barriers to integration have been removed.

14 6. As a result of residential concentration, the Negro population, like white immigrants before them, find their children attending *de facto* segregated schools. This has been historically the case for other newcomer groups in turn – the Irish, German, Scandinavian, Polish, Jewish, Italian, and others. In fact, for a number of white immigrant groups now of second, third, and subsequent generations, self-imposed segregation may still be observed in Chicago. There are still schools with predominantly Irish, German, Polish, Italian, or Jewish enrolment. Moreover, other relatively new newcomers – Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Appalachian whites – are also enrolled in *de facto* segregated schools.

15 7. There are basically important differences as well as similarities between Negro settlement in Chicago and settlement of white immigrants: the Negro, unlike the white immigrant, was and is an American citizen; the Negro remains visible and therefore identifi-

able, even after long residence in the City; in addition to the handicaps of being a newcomer, the Negro carries the added burdens of his heritage of slavery, the destruction of his African culture, underprivileged rearing, denigration, and widespread racial prejudice.

16 8. In consequence, although they have made considerable progress in Chicago as measured by higher levels of education, occupation, and income, Negroes have not been as free as their white immigrant predecessors to break out of segregated settlement areas and to achieve rapid economic and social advance.

17 9. In 1960, non-whites (97 per cent Negro) made up 23 per cent of the total City population, but they constituted 34 per cent of the population of elementary school age and 27 per cent of the high school age population. In 1963, according to the October 3 Board of Education headcount, non-white pupils made up 54 per cent of the elementary school pupils in the public schools and 36 per cent of the high school pupils. (Parochial and private schools include a disproportionate number of Chicago's white students.)

18 10. Population projections indicate that the non-white population of Chicago, if present trends continue, will increase from 838 thousand to 1.2 million, or by 40 per cent between 1960 and 1970. Non-whites 5 to 19 years of age may increase by 62 per cent, and those 10 to 14 years old by 106 per cent between 1960 and 1970. Non-whites of high school age (15-19) may increase by 135 per cent during the decade. (Projections by the Population Research and Training Center of the University of Chicago.)

19 11. In contrast, the white population in Chicago by 1970, present trends continuing, will decline by an additional 285 thousand persons to total 2.4 million. White children 5 to 9 years will increase by only 11 per cent and those 10 to 14 years by 30 per cent. White children of high school age will increase by about 46 per cent during the decade.

20 12. In consequence, by 1970, non-white children may make up about 44 per cent of the elementary school age children and 40 per cent of the children of high school age. It is possible with present trends that by 1970 non-white children will make up about 65 per cent of all children in the public elementary schools, and approximately 45 per cent of those in the public high schools.

21 13. Projections to 1980 show the same pattern of change — a more rapid increase in non-white than white school age population and, therefore, in the proportion of non-white children of school age and in the public schools.

22 Thus, demographic and social trends are exacerbating the problem of *de facto* school segregation and its consequences. The Negro population in the City is increasing rapidly while the white population continues to decrease. Moreover, the Negro school population, because of relatively high Negro birth rates, the enrolment of many white students in parochial schools, and the exodus of whites to the suburbs, is increasing more rapidly than the total Negro population.

Legal Background

23 Any history of the 1950's and 1960's will necessarily devote much space to America's efforts to destroy racial discrimination. The pace of social change in these decades has been dramatic.

24 The direction of the Negro's protest is not new, however; the civil rights movement is virtually an American tradition. The goals of the Negro American – equality of opportunity and full rights of citizenship – were expressed in a petition for freedom from slavery before the Revolutionary War. Furthermore, the first court suit to eliminate school segregation was adjudicated in 1849. (The court upheld segregation in *Roberts* v. *The City of Boston,* but the city council sided with the plaintiffs and desegregated the schools six years later.)

25 As recently as 1910, as has been indicated, 89 per cent of all Negroes were resident in the South and 73 per cent lived in rural farm areas or in places having fewer than 2,500 people. Heavy migration of Negroes from the rural South to urban centers in the North began during World War I, continued thereafter, and was greatly accelerated by World War II and post-war conditions. The War provided the Negro with the opportunity to demonstrate his contribution to the national well-being, on both the military and the industrial fronts. With increasing urbanization and movement to the North and West and increasing participation in the military establishment and in the civic affairs of the large metropolitan areas to which he had migrated, the Negro was no longer content to accept the second-class status which was law in the South and custom, sometimes law as well, in the North. (There were legally segregated schools in Illinois and Ohio from 1830 to 1954.)

26 Following World War II, a number of judicial and administrative decisions broke through the established pattern of discrimination. These included "fair employment" clauses in government contracts and the establishment of the first Civil Rights Commission. A series

of major court decisions, *Missouri ex rel. Gaines* v. *Canada* (1940), *Sweat* v. *Painter* (1950), *McLaurin* v. *Oklahoma State Regents* (1950) and others, culminated in the judgment in the 1954 Brown Case by a unanimous Supreme Court that segregated schooling is unconstitutional. In its ruling, the Court recognized not only the illegality of segregation but, also, its damaging psychological effects. (A review of the psychological literature is in Appendix B.) Finally, in 1957, the Congress broke its long silence on racial matters by enacting a civil rights bill. At the present time,1964, a major civil rights bill with far reaching implications is before the Congress. In the meantime, the federal government has taken giant strides in overcoming discrimination in federal employment and there has been a steady increase in the number of Negroes appointed to high government office. There has been some improvement in housing opportunities for Negroes as well as in opportunity for employment in private industry and business, and some gains have been made in the desegregation of schools in the South.

27 The style of the civil rights movement has also changed over the last two decades. The American people have been acutely affected by the world-wide revolution of rising expectations and the collapse of colonial empires. They have been influenced as well by Gandhi's teaching of passive resistance, which encourages the man on the street to participate directly in civil rights protest. The Negro has developed techniques of passive resistance to social injustice that have proved effective without excessive strain on his general relations with the white population. The non-violent movement made its appeal directly to white public opinion by actions which are largely symbolic rather than applications of force. By the summer of 1963, the civil rights movement had become a full-blown social revolution.

28 Desegregation of the public schools has become a major concern of the civil rights movement. This is no doubt an inevitable consequence of the 1954 Supreme Court decision, but several other factors are involved: In the first place, the school is the central institution of an industrialized society. Without education, modern society cannot continue to function or progress. Moreover, the school holds the key to social mobility. Finally, it should be observed that the schools are a public agency and therefore should be especially responsive to the Negro's demands for the full rights of citizenship.

√

29 The Supreme Court's 1954 decision dealt only with *de jure* segregation as found primarily in the South. Since then, a number of

local and federal courts have dealt with cases involving *de facto* segregation in northern cities.

30 The most famous of these cases is *Taylor* v. *New Rochelle Board of Education* (1961) in which the federal court held that *de facto* segregation is unconstitutional when there is clear intent on the part of the school board to use residential segregation as a means of maintaining segregated schools by a process of gerrymandering.

31 More recently, it appears that the courts will rule on the basis of the harmful effects of segregated education—no matter what its origin and regardless of the intent of the school boards. A decision of the New York Federal Court, in *Branche* v. *Hempstead Board of Education* (1962), is illustrative of this posture.

> So here, it is not enough to show that residence accounts for the fact of segregation and to contend that therefore the segregation is ineluctable. The effort to mitigate the consequent educational inadequacy is to impose it in the absence of a conclusive demonstration that no circumstantially possible effort can effect any significant mitigation. What is involved here is not convenience but constitutional interests.

Similarly, in *Webb* v. *The Board of Education of the City of Chicago* (1963), which was dismissed because the court felt that no attempt had been made to remedy the situation under the provision of the laws of the State of Illinois, Judge Hoffman stated in part:

> Segregated schools, in the main, have fallen woefully short (of their responsibilities) despite the emergence of some brilliant Negro leaders. The Negro school is the one with the highest dropout rate and the lowest academic achievements. *Apparently it makes little difference whether a school is deliberately segregated or segregated by reason of the housing situation* [italics ours].

32 In addition to the requirements imposed by constitutional law, Illinois school boards are under legislative mandate to administer the schools in such a manner as to alleviate segregation. The Armstrong Law of 1963 (see Appendix C) requires that Illinois school boards shall "as soon as practicable" revise and create attendance districts in a manner which will take into consideration the prevention of segregation. Further the law requires that

> In erecting, purchasing or otherwise acquiring buildings for school purposes, the board shall not do so in

such a manner as to promote segregation or separation of children in public schools because of color, race, or nationality.

Integration in a Free Pluralistic Society

33 The intense dissatisfaction of Negroes with the prevalent pattern of *de facto* segregated public schools and with the quality of education in those schools in the City of Chicago must be understood as an expression of their rebellion against their general status in American society. The struggle against *de facto* segregation, by focusing on an especially strategic institution, represents an effort on the part of the Negro to obtain his full rights as an American citizen and to achieve his rightful place in the social order in Chicago as in the United States generally. The struggle is part of a major social revolution sweeping the United States.

34 The emphasis being placed on the quality of education by the civil rights movement has made it a central and complex issue. The quality of education is a central issue because it is recognized that segregation may adversely affect quality and that education provides the ladder of escape from low social and economic status and provides also a path to integration. It is a complex issue because the achievement of pupils in the schools is the result not only of the quality of schools but, also, of the cultural background of the child — of his family, neighborhood, and general social milieu. (The problem of the quality of education in all-Negro or predominantly Negro schools is more fully treated in Parts II and III.)

35 The effort to achieve integration for Negroes must be reviewed in the context of the nature of American society. The United States is a pluralistic society comprising many and diverse ethnic, religious, and cultural, as well as racial groups. There are considerable differences in the extent to which these various populations have become integrated or remained segregated. Some, as for instance certain religious communities intent on preserving their beliefs and customs have taken active measures to prevent integration—that is their complete assimilation.

36 As indicated above, many enclaves of nineteenth century immigrants are still to be found in large cities. Such concentrations also represent, in the main, self-imposed forms of segregation. They reflect the desire of persons of like language, customs, religion, or origin to live together. Such residential patterns automatically bring about *de facto* segregation in the schools when neighborhood policies obtain. It should be emphasized, however, that these forms

of ethnic segregation were self-imposed and that many members of these ethnic groups were free to move out of segregated settlements into dispersed patterns of residence and many did so. This was a relatively easy process, since these groups were physically similar to the majority group. Moreover, it was also frequently true that some admixture of other peoples was to be found even in the enclave predominantly of one ethnic group.

37 The Negro is fighting for integration even while some other groups take active steps to preserve their heritage by means of concentration or segregation. The position of the Negro can readily be understood, however, in the light of his historical background and his general economic and social condition. Negroes are finding it more difficult to achieve dispersal or integrated living than did the various white ethnic and religous groups when they desired to do so. Visibility is here, of course, a major factor. The Negro is battling for the *right* to achieve dispersed patterns of living that are open to other groups, for white immigrant groups have had the freedom to live in dispersed fashion to effect integration or to remain resident in enclaves of their own kind.

38 The test of freedom in a pluralistic democratic society lies not in whether any given group is integrated or segregated; it lies rather in whether each person is free to live in an integrated or segregated manner by his own choice. This, essentially, is the right which the Negro seeks. It is clear that legally and morally the Negro is entitled to the same freedom of choice with respect to housing and to other social and economic opportunities enjoyed by other citizens. ✓

39 As a corollary, it follows that Negroes, like other citizens, should have the largest possible freedom in the selection of schools for their children. The Chicago schools have played a major role in the acculturation of immigrant groups in the history of the City and they must continue to play a major role in preparing the opportunity-deprived, rural in-migrant Negro adequately to take his rightful place in society.

40 The neighborhood elementary school, which has served this nation well historically, operates now to retard the acculturation and integration of the in-migrant Negro in Chicago and in metropolitan United States as a whole. Earlier in the century, the neighborhood elementary school actually helped to bring persons of diverse ethnicity and culture together—because foreign immigration was on a smaller and more gradual scale than the recent in-migration of Negroes. But in the present circumstances, given the huge

volume of Negro in-migration into Chicago and other metropolitan areas over the past two decades, the neighborhood elementary school often prevents inter-group contacts and interaction. It must therefore be modified. The public school must do its share in breaking down walls of segregation and paving the way for the exercise of free choice on the part of the Negro, as for all citizens, in respect to his life's pursuits.

41 The achievement of integration in the schools involves much more than modification of policy and program by the Board of Education. To implement a policy of integration requires a broad base of community co-operation and action, in addition to the adoption of the policies and programs recommended in this report. Mere admixture of white and Negro pupils does not constitute and will not produce integration unless other basic changes are achieved at the same time. Public and private policies and programs designed to retain and bring back middle-class white population to the City and to promote integration in housing, employment, religion, and society in general and attitudes of understanding and good will on the part of both whites and Negroes are as essential to the achievement of genuine integration in the schools as policies designed to eliminate *de facto* segregation in the schools.

42 In summary, the school system can eliminate segregation but it cannot, by itself, bring about meaningful integration in the schoolroom. The goal of integration of the public schools cannot be achieved without the active participation of religious institutions, business and labor organizations, civic and community groups, and social and fraternal societies as well as of all agencies of government. It requires the widespread support of the rank and file as well as the leadership of these groups. Moreover, it requires the active support of all families in Chicago — parents and children.

43 Finally, it cannot be too strongly stressed that programs to effect school integration must reckon with the fact that the white elementary school child is already in the minority in the public schools of Chicago and the time is not far off when the same will be true of the white high school student. Unless the exodus of white population from the public schools and from the City is brought to a halt or reversed, the question of school integration may become simply a theoretical matter, as it is already in the nation's capital. For integration, in fact, cannot be achieved without white students.

PART II

DE FACTO SEGREGATION AND QUALITY OF EDUCATION IN THE CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS

PART II — *DE FACTO* SEGREGATION AND QUALITY OF EDUCATION IN THE CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS

De Facto Segregation

Students

44 There is no standard definition of a "segregated" or an "integrated" school. Two definitions are considered here. One considers as an integrated school any school in which 10 per cent or more of the students are either Negro or "other" and at least 10 per cent are white. The second definition considers as integrated only those schools with at least 10 per cent Negro and 10 per cent white. *The second of these definitions is used in this report,* because it was the task of the Panel to focus on Negro-white interrelationships.

45 The differences resulting from use of these two definitions are presented below for the elementary schools. The source of these data is the Board of Education's headcount by race, taken October 3, 1963.

	Definition I (10 per cent white and 10 per cent Negro or "other")	*Definition II (10 per cent white and 10 per cent Negro)*
White schools......	47 per cent	55 per cent
Integrated schools...	18 per cent	9 per cent
Negro schools.......	35 per cent	37 per cent

46 With respect to the twenty-six elementary schools designated as upper grade centers, six or 23 per cent were white, seventeen or 65 per cent were Negro, and two or 8 per cent were integrated. Of the forty-four general and technical high schools, twenty-six or 59 per cent were white, eight or 18 per cent were Negro, and ten or 23 per cent were integrated. Of the thirty-four branches of general high schools which accommodate ninth- or ninth- and tenth-grade students, twenty-six or 76 per cent were white, six or 18 per cent were Negro and two or 6 per cent were integrated. Finally, of the nine vocational high schools, three were white, two were Negro, and four were integrated.

47 Thus, of the 148,000 Negro students in the elementary schools (Grades 1 to 8 minus students in special education and elementary schools designated as upper grade centers), 90 per cent were in Negro schools, and 10 per cent were in integrated or white schools; of

approximately 17,000 Negro students in the upper grade centers, 97 per cent were in Negro schools, and 3 per cent were in integrated or white schools. In the general and technical high schools, 63 per cent of the 36,000 Negro students were in Negro schools, and 37 per cent were in integrated or white schools. Finally, 45 per cent of the 7,000 Negro students in vocational high schools were in Negro schools, and 55 per cent were in integrated or white schools.

48 Similarly, relatively few white students attended integrated or Negro schools. Ninety per cent of the 142,000 elementary-school white students were in white schools, and 10 per cent were in integrated or Negro schools; 77 per cent of the 3,000 white students in upper grade centers were in white schools, and 23 per cent were in integrated or Negro schools. At the high-school level, 82 per cent of the 74,000 white students in the general and technical high schools were in white schools, and 18 per cent in integrated or Negro schools. Of the 6,000 white students in vocational high schools, 33 per cent were in white schools and 67 per cent in integrated or Negro schools.

49 Counting students at all grade levels from one through twelve (minus students in special education) there were 207,000 Negro students. Eighty-four per cent were in Negro schools, and 16 per cent were in integrated or white schools. Similarly, 86 per cent of the 225,000 white students were in white schools, and 14 per cent in integrated or Negro schools.

50 *De facto* segregation in the schools is mainly the result of residential segregation in the city as a whole, reinforced by a policy of geographically determined school attendance areas based on the neighborhood school policy.

51 New schools constructed since 1951 have, in general, been built in areas where they have been necessary to provide for increased enrolments. Two-hundred and sixty-six new schools and additions have been built or acquired, most of them in areas where school population increases have been the greatest – where Negroes now reside and in changing communities. Mobile units also have relieved overcrowding in white and integrated schools as well as in Negro schools.

52 The establishment of boundaries for school attendance areas has effected some school integration, but not to the extent possible if integration were a major goal. High school branches, in general, have tended to retain the neighborhood racial characteristics. (A more detailed study of student segregation appears in Appendix E.)

Teachers

53 Data on the race of teachers and other staff in the Chicago Public Schools were unavailable to the Panel through the Board of Education because of statutory restriction on compilation of such data, as interpreted by Counsel for the Board.

54 Data on the racial composition of high school faculties were obtained, however, from an informal survey of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, made in Fall, 1963. These data, made available to the Panel by the Commission, show that approximately 15 per cent of 5,700 teachers included in the survey (there were 5,841 high school teachers in January, 1964) in all general, technical, and vocational high schools were Negro.

55 Of the 847 Negro high school teachers, 71 per cent were in 10 high schools having 90 per cent or more Negro students. Of the 4,897 white high school teachers, 10 per cent were in those same 10 high schools. Sixty-two per cent of the white teachers and 4 per cent of the Negro teachers were in schools with 90 per cent or more white students. (The full distribution of the teaching staff is given in Appendix E.)

56 Informal surveys by the Panel's staff suggest that the racial distribution of teachers in the elementary schools is similar.

Quality of Education

57 It is difficult to assess the comparative quality of education offered in the white, integrated, and Negro schools. The data available permit an analysis of differences in these schools in the following factors: crowding, ratio of students to professional staff, selected characteristics of teaching staff, and achievement test scores.

58 In some instances, data were secured through an examination of a sample of a hundred schools. The seventy-eight elementary schools selected for this sample included white, integrated, and Negro schools in which the educational attainment of the adults in the school neighborhood was classified as high, medium, or low (based on the number of years of schooling as indicated in the 1960 census). The educational status of the area in which a school is located may be interpreted as a general socioeconomic index of the area.

59 In other instances data were secured from an examination of statistics from all schools in the city. In one instance data for nine districts were studied. A summary of the findings from these studies follows.

Overcrowding, Class Size, and Student-Staff Ratio in Schools

60 Areas in the city in which Negroes live have increased markedly in enrolment. Population density in these areas is high; Negroes, as a group, are relatively young and have large families. Relatively few Negro children attend private schools.

61 Even though 266 new schools and additions have been constructed or acquired in these and other areas since 1951, facilities are overcrowded. An analysis of the elementary schools in the system indicates that 40 per cent of the Negro schools have more than 35 students per available classroom, compared with 12 per cent of the white schools. Seventeen per cent of the white schools would have fewer than 25 students per room, if all rooms in the school were occupied, as compared with 3 per cent of the Negro schools.

62 The city-wide average size class, in Grades 1 to 8, is approximately 32.5 students (September, 1963), and teachers are assigned to each school to achieve this average. In schools where the class average is above 32.5, additional teachers are assigned to equalize the instructional program, but are not regarded as a satisfactory substitute for smaller class size. Including counselors, librarians, and other auxiliary staff, the ratio of students to professional staff in the sample schools is 28 in the white schools, 28 in the integrated schools, and 29 in the Negro schools.

63 Negro high schools are more overcrowded than white or integrated high schools. Of the eight Negro high schools, five have enrolments over 50 per cent above capacity. Only four of the twenty-six white high schools are more than 50 per cent overcrowded. Four of the ten integrated high schools are overcrowded to this extent.

Teaching Staff

64 The available data did not make possible a fully adequate evaluation of the quality of the teaching staff in Negro schools as compared with white and integrated schools. It was possible, however, to analyze the schools in the sample for the following factors: percentage of temporarily certificated teachers, percentage of teachers with five or more years of experience, percentage of teachers with Master's degrees, and the percentage of teachers with both Master's degrees and five or more years of experience. (Temporarily certificated teachers are teachers who meet the requirements for teaching in the State of Illinois but who have not passed the

examination required for regular certification by the Chicago Board of Education.)

65 Experience, educational attainment, and regular certification through examination are generally regarded as significant measures of the quality of a teaching staff, although it could well be that some of Chicago's best teachers are young beginning teachers without Master's degrees who have not yet taken the City examination. It is assumed that teachers with advanced degrees and several years of experience will be, on the average, better teachers. Similarly, it is assumed that a staff with a low turnover of teachers (reflected in these data by a high percentage of regularly assigned teachers) will usually perform at a higher level.

66 The data for the seventy-eight sample elementary schools indicate that the Negro schools, *especially those in low education areas,* compared with white schools, have larger proportions of teachers who hold temporary certificates, smaller proportions of teachers with at least five years of experience, smaller proportions of teachers with Master's degrees, and smaller proportions of teachers with both five years or more experience and a Master's degree. Integrated schools, on the whole, fall intermediate between white and Negro schools in quality of staff as indicated by these measures.

67 The median percentage of teachers holding temporary certificates is greater in integrated schools (45 per cent) than it is in Negro schools (41 per cent), *when both are located in low education areas.* The percentage of teachers with five or more years of experience (76 per cent) is higher in Negro schools *which are located in high education areas,* than it is in integrated schools (70 per cent) in these areas. The percentage of experienced teachers in Negro schools in high education areas is 76 compared with 88 in white schools in similar areas. (Fuller detail is given in Appendix F.)

68 The material presented in Appendix F, relating to the median percentage of elementary school teachers in various classifications, is summarized below.

69 1. *Teachers with Temporary Certificates.* In high education areas, 5 per cent of teachers in white schools are temporarily certificated, compared with 14 per cent in integrated schools and 16 per cent in Negro schools. In medium education areas, 4 per cent of the teachers in white schools hold temporary certificates, compared with 10 per cent in integrated schools and 16 per cent in Negro schools. In low education areas, 8 per cent of the teachers in white schools,

45 per cent of the teachers in integrated schools, and 41 per cent of the teachers in Negro schools hold temporary certificates.

70 2. *Teachers with Five Years or More of Experience.* In high education areas, 88 per cent of the teachers in the white schools have five years or more of experience compared with 71 per cent in the integrated and 76 per cent in Negro schools. In medium education areas, 90 per cent of the teachers in white schools, 66 per cent in integrated schools, and 60 per cent of the teachers in Negro schools have five years or more of experience. In low education areas, 68 per cent of the teachers in white schools, 35 per cent in integrated schools, and 28 per cent of the teachers in Negro schools, have five or more years of experience.

71 3. *Teachers with a Master's Degree.* In high education areas, 28 per cent of the teachers in white schools, 26 per cent in integrated schools, and 20 per cent in Negro schools hold Master's degrees. In medium education areas, the percentage of those who hold a Master's degree is approximately the same for the three types of schools. In the low education areas, 21 per cent of the teachers in white schools, compared with 14 per cent in integrated schools and 6 per cent in Negro schools, hold Master's degrees.

72 4. *Teachers with a Master's Degree and Five Years or More of Experience.* In high education areas, 26 per cent of the teachers in white schools, approximately 23 per cent of those in integrated schools, and 18 per cent of those in Negro schools have a Master's degree and five years or more of experience. In medium education areas, the percentages are almost identical for the three types of schools. In low education areas, 17 per cent of the teachers in the white schools have a Master's degree and five years of experience compared with approximately 9 per cent in the integrated schools and approximately 5 per cent in the Negro schools.

Student Attendance, Dropouts, and Mobility

73 The Panel examined some of the characteristics of students in white, integrated, and Negro schools.

74 1. The per cent of attendance, for the elementary schools studied, during the period from September, 1963, to January, 1964, ranges from a median of 89.6 per cent for the Negro schools in low education areas to a median of 94.6 per cent in the Negro schools in high education areas. The range for white elementary schools is from a median of 91.7 per cent in low education areas to a median of 93.5 per cent in high education areas. In the high schools in the

sample, the median per cent of attendance for Negro schools is 89.6 and for white schools 93.0.

75 2. The Negro high schools had a higher dropout rate than the white high schools. For the year 1962-63, the median per cent of dropouts for Negro high schools was 9.0, with a range of from 2.4 to 11.5. The median for white high schools was 4.2 per cent, with a range of from 0.4 to 13.3. The median was 7.0 per cent, with a range of from 3.6 to 16.4, in integrated high schools.

76 3. Negro schools, as indicated in a 1962-63 student mobility study of nine districts, had a higher degree of student mobility or transiency than white schools. For the first semester of 1962-63, the mobility in six districts, in which all or a majority of the students were Negro, ranged from 36.4 per cent to 60.1 per cent. In three districts, in which all or a majority of the students were white, the range was from 17.2 to 36.2 per cent.

Student Achievement

77 The Panel reviewed the standardized test data on mental ability and achievement for the sample schools. These data for elementary schools were respectively grouped for predominantly white schools, for predominantly integrated schools, and for predominantly Negro schools. (The test results are presented in Appendix H.)

78 All the test data were derived from verbal tests. Such tests are not "culture free" and, for this reason, the interpretation and use of such data are properly subject to guarded acceptance. This limitation is recognized and is reflected in the analysis below.

79 These data support four generalizations:

80 1. The median mental ability of students is highest in predominantly white schools, is lowest in predominantly Negro schools, and falls between these two medians in integrated schools.

81 2. Achievement test medians in all areas of basic instruction are highest is predominantly white schools, are lowest in predominantly Negro schools, and fall between these two medians in integrated schools.

82 3. Achievement test medians of students in each of the three groups of schools, when compared with achievement prediction as reflected by mental ability test data, show that students in predominantly Negro schools do fully as well as those in either predominantly white schools or in integrated schools. This significant fact suggests that Negro students, as a group, profit from instruction fully as much as other groups. It also suggests that intensified

educational opportunities for Negro boys and girls would result in a major closing of the achievement gap between group performance of Negro students and other groups.

83 4. It should also be noted that students from low education areas in white, integrated, and Negro schools had lower achievement and mental ability test scores than their counterparts in high education areas; and their achievement test scores, when compared with achievement prediction as reflected by mental ability test data, also show they did fully as well as students in areas of high educational background.

Curriculum and Teaching Materials

84 A survey of the program offerings of the general high schools in the sample indicates little difference in the program available to white and Negro students. (See Appendix G, "Curriculum Offerings.")

85 Of the two vocational high schools in the sample, one is integrated and the other is all Negro. Both have widely diversified vocational programs. The other vocational high schools have more limited vocational programs.

86 One trade school provides training programs, in co-operation with trade unions, for students who are employed in and are apprenticed to the trades. The 1963 racial headcount for the trade school shows that 97 per cent of the students are white and 2.5 per cent are Negro. The Panel finds it shocking that some unions in Chicago do not admit Negroes as apprentices and that the Public School System co-operates with these unions in providing apprenticeship training programs.

87 Each school is allocated a per capita amount in the annual school budget for textbooks, library books, and supplies. Supplemental allocations of funds are made to schools which increase in enrolment during the year, have a high turnover of students, or have other unusual situations.

88 The data per capita expenditures were secured by taking the total expenditures for books and supplies for the 1963 budget year for each of the sample schools and dividing it by the number of students in average daily attendance. (The number of students in average daily attendance was used in this study as the number of students in the school, because this figure reflects enrolment changes during the year.)

89 The data reveal that the average per capita expenditure for books and supplies in the elementary schools in the sample was lowest in the white elementary schools ($7.65), was highest in the Negro schools ($8.54), and fell between these figures in the integrated schools ($7.98).

90 The average per capita expenditure for books and supplies in the sample schools designated as upper grade centers was higher in the Negro schools ($15.82) than in the white schools ($14.50). (Data were not available for integrated schools.)

91 In the general high schools in the sample, the expenditures for white schools averaged $10.95 per capita, $10.17 in integrated schools, and for Negro schools $10.69.

92 In the two vocational high schools in the sample, the average expenditure per capita was $18.18 in the integrated school and $17.83 in the Negro school.

Physical Facilities

93 With respect to the specialized physical facilities available in white and Negro elementary schools, the data indicates the most significant differences were in the percentage of schools equipped with lunchrooms, health clinics, and libraries. Sixty-eight per cent of the Negro schools had lunchrooms, compared with 34 per cent of the white schools; 48 per cent of the Negro schools had health clinics compared with 27 per cent of the white schools; 85 per cent of the Negro schools had central libraries, compared with 95 per cent of the white schools.

94 Eighty-seven per cent of the Negro schools had auditoriums, compared with 92 per cent of the white schools; 94 per cent of the Negro schools had gymnasiums, compared with 97 per cent of the white schools; 93 per cent of the Negro schools had adjustment rooms, compared with 98 per cent of the white schools.

95 There are more large Negro schools than large white schools. This is directly related to the higher density of the population in Negro areas. Since 1958, the number of large schools has declined from twenty-one schools enrolling two thousand or more students to ten such schools at the present time.

96 Current school policy limits new schools to 36 classrooms and three kindergartens — 1,260 children at 30 per class. This practice is based on the assumption that a school of this size makes it possible to group children effectively for teaching and learning, to provide appropriate auxiliary staff, and to furnish facilities to service the

program of instruction. The mean enrolment for Negro schools at the present is 1,200 compared with 700 for white schools; 47 per cent of the Negro schools have over 1,200 pupils, compared to 7 per cent of the white schools. Insofar as larger schools provide more diversified physical facilities, educational opportunities in these schools may be regarded as superior to smaller schools lacking such facilities. Insofar as larger schools result from overcrowding and larger classes, they may be regarded as offering less acceptable educational opportunities than smaller schools.

97 Almost 82,000 children are in attendance in Negro schools built since 1951 compared with approximately 29,000 children in attendance at white schools built since 1951, and 9,500 children in integrated schools built in that time.

98 To provide temporary relief from overcrowding, the Board of Education has made use of 215 mobile classrooms, 193 of which, as of November, 1963, were used in elementary schools. Seventeen per cent of the mobile classrooms are presently in use in white schools, 10 per cent in integrated schools, and 73 per cent in Negro schools.

99 The Panel recognizes the concern created in much of the Negro community by the use of mobile classrooms and understands the reasons for this concern. There exists a widespread fear in the Negro community that mobile classrooms, instead of being temporary, may become a permanent part of the physical facilities, thereby tending to perpetuate segregated education and to impede school integration. To the extent that mobile classrooms make unnecessary the use of other techniques for reduction of overcrowding which might result in improved integration, they maintain segregation; to the extent that they prevent Negro students from being transferred back to all-Negro schools, or white students to all-white schools, they maintain integration.

100 (More detailed data on the above findings are presented in Appendices D to H.)

PART III

RECOMMENDATIONS

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RECOMMENDATIONS

101 *Public education in a free society is properly concerned primarily with the individual,* with his intellectual development, the cultivation of his skills, his vocational and professional preparation, the nurturing of his artistic sensitivies and creativity, the discipline of his moral will, his achievement of a genuine sense of personal worth and meaning in existence, and his commitment to high purpose.

102 But the individual does not live in isolation from society, and while the school ministers to his well-being it must contribute thereby to the strength and integrity of the social order — the neighborhood, the city, the state, and the nation. By its effect upon his attitudes and actions, the state of his knowledge, his rational capacities, and the level of his skills, it inevitably determines the character of society, its political integrity, its economic stability and prosperity, its solidarity of purpose, and its general moral strength. Not less important, the school is the chief determinant of the quality and character of the culture of the nation and of the community. Upon it, more than upon any other institution or function of society, depends the character of the world in which the present generation must live and into which future generations will be born. What goes on in the schoolroom and laboratory profoundly affects the whole quality of personal and social life, the things men live by, the values they cherish, and the ends they seek. It can make the difference between a life that is full and meaningful and one that is empty and meaningless.

103 It is inevitable, therefore, that decisions importantly affecting the character and quality of the schools, whether in matters of instruction, personnel, administration, or social behavior and relationships, must make a difference not only in the lives of the individual students but, also, in those sure but subtle ways by which influences permeate the social structure, in the whole life of the society and in its culture. *The purpose of our schools is nothing less than the achievement of free persons in a free society.*

104 Much of the controversy surrounding the effort to achieve racially integrated schools in Chicago, as elsewhere in the nation, involves disagreement about the concept and structure of the neighborhood school. *It is clear that, regardless of intent, the existing*

policies and administrative decisions by which the neighborhood school is organized in Chicago contribute to maintaining segregated schools, particularly at the elementary school level.

105 The Panel understands the historical, social, and cultural reasons for neighborhood schools. It is clear that neighborhood schools have existed for generations and that they have undergone many structural modifications in the past. There is nothing sacred about the current pattern under which neighborhood schools exist. The structure can be modified now, as it has been in the past. Change in the structure of the neighborhood school does not require any abandonment of the concept of, or attachment to, the neighborhood school.

106 The Panel sincerely believes the recommendations that follow really represent continued support of the principles of the neighborhood school, yet recognizes the imperative need to modify its structure. The need to achieve integrated schools represents a higher priority than the maintenance of any existing neighborhood school structure. If the maintenance of the present structure of the neighborhood school obstructs or makes school integration impossible, it must be changed.

107 *In a free society, it is the responsibility of society to protect and progressively expand the freedom of individual choice.* The exercise of this freedom is a responsibility of the individual. The Panel's recommendations are specifically designed to remove barriers to freedom of choice, within the framework of administrative feasibility, in the Chicago Public Schools.

108 The Panel notes that the Board of Education issued a policy statement on February 13, 1964, with respect to school integration (see Appendix A). The specific recommendations of the Panel are designed to implement this policy.

109 If the Board's policy is to be effective, there must be a firm commitment to the policy of racial integration in the schools, not only on the part of the Board but, also, by the General Superintendent of Schools, the Deputy, Associate, Assistant, and District Superintendents, principals, teachers, and staff members. Without such a commitment, it will not be possible in good faith to pursue the day to day decisions so essential to effectuating this legally and morally desirable goal. It is important that this commitment be reflected in the selection, use, and distribution of learning resources, and of teaching materials of all kinds, – curriculum content, supplementary materials, graphic illustrations, tapes, films, radio,

televised instruction and programmed materials, at all levels of instruction.

110 The Panel recognizes that implementation of some aspects of its recommendations may conflict with existing statutes and regulations, or with some interpretations thereof, under which the Chicago Public Schools are administered. Where this is the case, it is urged that such changes be made in the law and regulations as will enable these recommendations to be given full effect.

111 The recommendations of the Panel are based on the following premises:

1. Racially segregated education, regardless of its causes, is incompatible with the ideals of a free society and its commitment to equal educational opportunity for all.
2. The quality of education for any child in a racially pluralistic community is improved when teaching and learning are conducted in racially integrated schools.
3. There is no necessary conflict between the improvement of teaching and learning and racial integration in schools.
4. Neither potential administrative difficulties nor limitations of existing educational policy is a morally, socially, or professionally defensible reason for failure to pursue the aims of quality education and racial integration simultaneously and with vigor, using all resources and methods presently available or which reasonably can be devised for their attainment.

112 The Panel submits the following recommendations to the Board of Education of the City of Chicago:

113

RECOMMENDATION 1 – STUDENT OPEN ENROLMENT PATTERNS

It is recommended that as rapidly as possible enrolment patterns be made more open for all students. In developing these patterns, the primary concern of the Board should be to maximize the individual's freedom to choose the school he will attend, within the framework provided by the pattern.

114 Among the many possible patterns, the Panel recommends the following as immediate first steps.

A. Modified Open Enrolment in the Elementary Schools

To provide greater freedom of individual choice and to effect improved racial integration in the elementary schools, it is recommended that the Board of Education adopt a policy of Modified

Open Enrolment for all elementary school children living within enlarged elementary school attendance areas, each such attendance area to include two or more elementary schools now serving contiguous areas.

115 In the opinion of the Panel, implementation of the proposed Modified Open Enrolment plan would preserve for Chicago the basic values of the traditional neighborhood school policy while at the same time meeting the objections to the neighborhood policy at the point of the latter's tendency to support and preserve racial segregation. Under Modified Open Enrolment, the neighborhood is not destroyed; it is enlarged and modified.

116 The modification would protect the prior right of every child residing within a prescribed area surrounding each school to attend that school. At the same time, each child would have the option, so far as practicable, of attending any other school within the modified school attendance area.

117 Under this arrangement, children would be free to enrol in any school within the enlarged attendance area on a pre-registration basis. Should a given school become over-enrolled, children would be registered on the basis of three criteria: 1) allocation to effect integration; 2) educational advantage to the child; 3) allocation to the school nearest the child's place of residence.

118 The Panel regards this plan of Modified Open Enrolment as preferable to what is ordinarily referred to as the Princeton Plan, primarily because it provides a greater protection to freedom of choice. Moreover, it provides superior educational advantages, in that it does not impose an arbitrary change of schools on children beyond those occasioned by change of residence.

119 B. UPPER GRADE CENTERS

In designating existing facilities or locating new facilities to be used as upper grade centers, the Board of Education should give major consideration to the possibilities of fostering racial integration in these centers.

120 In making the above recommendation, the Panel recognizes the existence of upper grade centers and the probability that additional such centers will be established. This comment is not intended to be an expression of judgment concerning the educational desirability of upper grade center policy.

121 C. MODIFIED OPEN ENROLMENT IN ENLARGED GENERAL HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDANCE DISTRICTS

It is recommended that the Board of Education adopt a policy of

Modified Open Enrolment for all general high school students living within each of enlarged general high school districts, each such district to embrace three or more general high schools.

122 Under this arrangement, students would be free to enrol in any general high school within respective enlarged attendance districts on a pre-registration basis. Should a given school become over-enrolled, students would be registered on the basis of three criteria: 1) allocation to effect integration; 2) educational advantage to the student; 3) allocation to the school nearest the student's place of residence.

123 In urging Board adoption of the above pattern, the Panel has three major purposes in mind: *a)* greater freedom of individual choice; *b)* improved racial integration in the schools; *c)* administrative feasibility.

124 The Panel seriously considered the possibility of other patterns, including city-wide general high school open enrolment, regional high schools in which an open enrolment policy would be followed, and open enrolment within existing administrative districts. The Panel considers each of these plans less preferable than the one here proposed as an immediate first step. It is urged that this first step lead, in due course, to a policy of city-wide general high school open enrolment.

125 This proposal would protect the prior right of each student residing within a predetermined area contiguous to each school to attend that school. At the same time each student would have the option, so far as practicable, of attending any other general high school within his enlarged attendance district.

126

D. OPEN ENROLMENT IN THE VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS AND SPECIAL SCHOOLS AND FACILITIES

It is recommended that the Board of Education adopt a policy of city-wide open enrolment for all vocational high schools and for all special schools and facilities, such as those for the physically handicapped, the mentally handicapped, the deaf, and the hard of hearing.

127 The reasons for supporting an open enrolment policy for vocational high schools are the same as those presented for such a policy in the general high schools. Open enrolment for the handicapped is necessary not only for the same reasons, but, also, because of the need to maximize use of the limited number of skilled personnel.

128 RECOMMENDATION 2 – OPTIMAL UTILIZATION OF SPACE

It is recommended that optimal use be made of all existing school facilities.

129 In the event of under-utilization of space or overcrowding, after the above policies are followed, the following further steps should be taken:

1. Free transportation should be provided to convey students from overcrowded to under-utilized schools when the distances are in excess of one mile. This transportation should be free because it would be for the convenience of the Board of Education.
2. A liberal transfer plan should be put into force permitting the transfer of any child to an under-utilized school of his choice, provided that each transferee assume the cost of his own transportation.
3. Mobile classrooms should be continued as a means for relieving temporary overcrowding. They should not be used, however, as a means for effecting or perpetuating segregation.

130 RECOMMENDATION 3 – LOCATION OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL BOUNDARIES

It is recommended that in locating all new schools and in redrawing existing school attendance boundaries or school district boundaries that the factor of fostering racial integration be included as a major consideration.

131 The construction of new schools, as well as the establishment of boundaries for attendance areas, should be used as a positive opportunity for effecting school integration.

132 RECOMMENDATION 4 – INTEGRATION OF FACULTIES

✓ *It is recommended that the Board of Education take positive steps to achieve integrated faculties in the schools and teachers colleges while, at the same time, protecting the assignment preferences of teachers as far as possible.*

133 The Panel does not subscribe to the principle that a school has been truly integrated when the student body only has been integrated. An integrated faculty is part and parcel of an integrated school. ✓ The Panel realizes that the present law (Illinois School Code, Section 24-4) creates difficulties for the Board in implementing this recommendation. Serious consideration should be given to modifying this law.

134 **RECOMMENDATION 5 – ASSIGNMENT OF TEACHERS**

It is recommended that the Board of Education adopt policies designed to assure for all schools, as far as is legal and practicable, a fair distribution of teachers with varying lengths of experience and various types of professional credentials.

135 The evidence before the Panel clearly indicates that many schools, particularly those with predominantly Negro enrolments, have a disproportionate number of new, inexperienced, and noncertificated teachers. Such teachers, as individuals, are not necessarily less or more effective than those with longer service and full certification. However, it is obvious that experience, level of education, and certification status are desirable qualifications for teachers, and that schools in disadvantaged areas have no less need for teachers with these qualifications than do other schools.

136 The Panel is aware of the legal restrictions governing the assignment of teachers. Although it is desirable to seek statutory changes to give the General Superintendent of Schools greater discretionary power in the assignment of teachers, the existing statutes do not prevent action designed to increase the motivation of teachers to seek assignments in schools with high pupil turnover, heavy retardation, and low educational achievement. In addition to taking steps better to prepare the teacher for instruction in such areas (Recommendation 6) every effort, too, should be made to provide incentives to attract the better and more experienced teachers. Smaller class sizes, teacher aides, better instructional resources, adequate and protected parking places, and the like are among the types of things that could help. Longer school days, if adopted, could provide increased compensation as could additional education and special training, including specialized training for teaching in disadvantaged areas.

137 It must be emphasized that the community itself has a major role in attracting or repelling teachers. The teacher with statutory freedom to choose his assignment understandably avoids areas which create personal difficulties for him – difficulties ranging from questions about his competence based on his very willingness to come to the area, to the theft of tires or batteries from his automobile, and to attacks upon his person. The community itself must help to increase incentives for the best teachers to choose the more difficult schools. This is an especially important matter in the present atmosphere of controversy which, unfortunately, has made the teacher as well as the schools in general subject to hostile attitudes and behavior.

138 The Panel has been particularly impressed with the understanding, sincerity, and devotion to superior education so uniformly displayed by the Chicago teachers with whom it has consulted.

139 RECOMMENDATION 6 – TEACHER EDUCATION

It is recommended that the Board of Education vigorously encourage all teacher education centers in the Chicago area to develop more effective programs for the education of teachers for schools with high student turnover, heavy retardation, and limited education achievement.

140 The Chicago Public Schools should extend the fullest co-operation to the teacher education centers in developing such programs. In addition, adequate provision should be made for:

1. special in-service training programs for teachers
2. suitable incentives and recognition for teachers who take advantage of such programs and who teach in schools with high student turnover, heavy retardation, and limited educational achievement.

141 RECOMMENDATION 7 – IN-SERVICE EDUCATION

It is recommended that the Chicago teacher and administrator in-service education program be extended to include systematic exposure to ideas and materials related to:

1. *The history of minority groups in America and the world at large*
2. *the content and method of teaching children of different cultural heritages*
3. *human relations practices.*

142 In a society ethnically and racially pluralistic, it is imperative that all staff members achieve knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of the contributions of every group.

143 RECOMMENDATION 8 – LEARNING RESOURCES

It is recommended that the Board of Education allocate substantially increased budget funds for acquisition of learning resources and that for those schools with special problems of high student turnover, heavy retardation, and lower educational achievement, a compensating allocation of funds be made, over and above the city-wide average, to assist such schools to attain their full potential.

144 The Panel believes that all Chicago's Public Schools need additional, better, and more diverse materials for learning, including as rapidly as can be developed by the Chicago school system, better balance in the presentation of multi-ethnic and racial contribution through the past and in the present. It believes this need is greatest

in those schools with high student turnover, heavy retardation, and lower levels of educational attainment. The Panel recognizes that those schools receive additional funds for textbooks and supplies, but believes that even more should be done.

145 RECOMMENDATION 9

IMPROVING ACHIEVEMENT IN BASIC SKILLS

It is recommended that the Board intensify the educational program in those elementary schools with high student turnover, heavy retardation, and lower levels of educational achievement so as to:

1. *significantly raise the basic linguistic and mathematical skills of the students now in Grades 1-8 so that fewer will be below grade expectancy*
2. *achieve for present and successive kindergarten through third-grade students at least a normal achievement distribution in basic communication skills — reading, speaking, writing, and arithmetic.*

146 RECOMMENDATION 10 – COUNSELING AND GUIDANCE

It is recommended that guidance and counseling services in the high schools be substantially increased and, as far as possible, similar services be provided in the elementary schools, with special concern for those schools which have high student turnover, heavy retardation, and low educational achievement.

147 The Panel believes adequate counseling and guidance services in the schools to be indispensable for dealing with the problems of motivation, for encouraging continued school attendance, for developing realistic ambitions and life goals, and for acquiring information about the means for their attainment.

148 RECOMMENDATION 11 – SATURATION PROGRAM

It is recommended that the Board of Education undertake, on a pilot and experimental basis, in one or more administrative districts where student turnover is high, retardation heavy, and educational achievement low, a program of educational saturation in which the effort would be made to utilize as much of best educational practice as possible, as broadly as possible, and as rapidly as possible.

149 The primary objects of this recommendation are to achieve major improvement in learning through a comprehensive attack on the many problems that impede and inhibit good education and to extend such improvement where needed throughout the City, as soon as possible.

150 In making this recommendation, the Panel has not undertaken to outline a blueprint for such a program. It firmly believes, how-

ever, that such a saturation program, to be effective, must be freed from all existing regulations, policies, and procedures which impose hampering restrictions on experimentation or limit the freedom of responsible authority to act.

151 Among the elements which should be included in such a program, are the following:

1. ungraded primary school
2. pre-school program
3. orientation, reception, and placement centers for children new to the community and to urban living
4. provision for adequate guidance and counseling
5. greatly enriched learning resources, both in the classroom and in the school
6. internships for teachers-in-training
7. employment of school aides and other non-professional school personnel
8. use of unpaid volunteer personnel
9. extended school day
10. after-school study centers
11. a year-round school program
12. team-teaching
13. variable size instructional groupings (large, medium, and small)
14. continuing education for parents and out-of-school youth, including literacy programs.

152 Such a program should not remain the unique prerogative of suburban or other highly favored communities whose local resources readily support them and whose commitment to superior education embraces them. It is badly needed by central city children.

153 Where better could such a program be mounted than in Chicago? All the elements to justify and test such a program exist in bold and undisguised proportions in the city. It is particularly appropriate at a time when Board policy commits the schools to integrated education.

154 The above list of recommended items, though not exhaustive, would constitute the core of a true educational breakthrough program. The value of each item has been demonstrated in various communities in this country, some of them in the City of Chicago. The Panel believes each of these provisions to be realistic and desirable. The central significance of their inclusion as integral parts of a saturation program lies in the mutual reinforcement

given to total educational quality in such a comprehensive effort.

155 Ungraded primary units will provide greatly increased flexibility in dealing with the rapid enrolment increases and high turnover which are characteristic of the primary grades and which in some American communities are being heavily augmented by limitations on the ability of parochial schools to maintain past and present educational programs. If combined with team-teaching and a teacher internship program, supplemented by paid school aides and unpaid volunteers, they will greatly extend the ability of the schools to deal with children as individuals. The provision of adequate counseling and guidance personnel would reinforce all aspects of the program and add a much needed resource, particularly in the elementary schools.

156 The Panel emphasizes the importance of providing orientation, reception, and placement centers for children new to the community and to urban living, many of whom first enter the Chicago Public Schools without any available records of previous schooling and from disadvantaged schools. The Panel also stresses the importance of after-school study centers, an extended school day, and the provision by the schools of educational opportunities for children on a year-round basis.

157 It is critically important that available time (Saturdays, summer months, etc.) be used as a major means to improve educational opportunity for those who are already behind in their learning. In this respect, the establishment of pre-school programs has special significance. In these activities, unpaid volunteers, if effectively utilized, could make a major contribution to the public school educational program.

158 Such a comprehensive program, to be effective, will depend in major degree on the understanding and support of parents. It is, therefore, incumbent upon the Board of Education to complement these activities with a strong program of parent education and parent involvement.

159 Finally, it should be noted that such a saturation program, if undertaken, would be not only a test of the will of the community in which it is undertaken and a test of the resourcefulness of those who design it, but of equal importance, it would be a test of the real commitment to good education on the part of the City of Chicago as a whole. Such a test has not yet been made by any great American city. Chicago has the opportunity to assume leadership in the effort.

160 RECOMMENDATION 12 – MEETING THE COSTS

It is recommended that every effort be made to obtain the additional funds that the Panel's proposals require – both from within the City and, necessarily, from the state and federal governments.

161 Per student expenditures for 1961-62 in the Chicago Public Schools amounted to $442 for elementary students and $582 for high school students. (In 1962-63 the Chicago per student expenditures were $455 and $598, respectively.)

162 In contrast to the Chicago rate of expenditure, consider the 1961-62 per student elementary expenditures for selected other districts in Cook County; Glencoe, $646; Winnetka, $796; and River Forest, $988. Per student expenditures are also substantially higher at various high schools within Cook County; New Trier, $1,208; Glen Brook, $1,030; Ridgewood, $1,535. Thus, typically suburban children already enjoying the advantages of families with high educational, social, economic, and cultural background, are beneficiaries of much greater expenditures per capita for education at public expense than the average Chicago child.

163 It is anticipated that there will be some public resistance to greatly increased expenditures for education, as there always has been. But the time has come for this City, as well as others, fully to recognize the unprecedented situation which confronts the public schools and to weigh the costs of improving education against the cost of not doing so. Rapid technological change, climaxed by accelerating automation, is making it increasingly impossible for the uneducated, unskilled person to support himself or to accommodate himself to the urban environment. In consequence, the costs of unemployment, welfare and relief, delinquency and crime, high morbidity and mortality – human as well as financial costs – are among the costs of failure to make adequate investments in education. *These costs undoubtedly far exceed the required expenditures for the program recommended by the Panel.*

164 The City of Chicago, like other metropolitan areas, must face up to the need to increase the present level of expenditures on public education and, one way or another, obtain the needed funds. Such increased expenditures must be viewed as an essential investment in human resources without which the very future of the City will be jeopardized.

165 RECOMMENDATION 13 – SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

It is recommended that the Board of Education design and vigor-

ously pursue a program for effective school-community communication, for improved internal communication in the public school system, and for more active participation of the community in school affairs.

166 A. SCHOOL-COMMUNITY COMMUNICATION

In the opinion of the Panel, the difficulties that obtain in the Chicago Public Schools relating to segregation and race relationships are partly due to failures in communication between the schools and the public. The school officials should take whatever measures may be necessary to insure the free flow of information to the public and to make themselves readily available to the patrons of their schools for discussion of individual cases as well as general problems. The public, on the other hand, must recognize the magnitude of the schools' problems and act with a determination to assist in their solution and not simply as critics of the educational system. Unless the lines of communication are kept open there will be little understanding of the schools, and without understanding there is little possibility of developing the trust and confidence necessary to overcome the racial problem.

167 The Board of Education should regularly publish a variety of statistical information and provide for its distribution to a wide range of public and private agencies. Among the pertinent areas about which such information should be provided by race as well as by other significant characteristics are:

1. achievement test data and similar information
2. enrolment data and attendance data – by school district and for the system as a whole
3. staff data – numbers, distribution, experience, certification status
4. data on facilities, space utilization, and other related facts
5. attendance area boundaries
6. information as to what action, if any, has been taken or is contemplated in accordance with the recommendations of this Panel.

168 B. INTERNAL SCHOOL COMMUNICATION

The evidence before the Panel indicates that internal communication within the public school system relating to the various facets of school integration can be materially improved. There is no single administrator within the system whose function it is to co-ordinate and communicate policy with respect to integration. The Bureau of Human Relations has not been assigned this responsibility nor staffed to meet the need. It should become a more positive instrument for effective service in the inter-group relations area. However, it is for the Board, of course, to determine the best administrative mechanism to effect this goal.

169 C. STRUCTURES FOR IMPROVED COMMUNICATION

1. *Biracial "Friends of the Chicago Schools" Committee*

A committee of outstanding community leaders, broadly representative of the city at large and biracial in composition, should be established to work with the Board of Education and the General Superintendent of Schools on the implementation of the Panel's recommendations, as approved by the Board, and all problems relating to school integration. In addition, the committee should serve the function of interpreting the program on behalf of the Board to the public and assist in gaining support for constructive advancement of the integration and quality improvement program.

170 This Committee should utilize the proffered services of the religious leaders of Chicago who are prepared to serve as a "flying wedge" to pave the way for school integration, community by community; and in addition, of course, it should use the total power structure of the City to this same end.

171 2. *Public Schools Committee on Integration*

A committee should be appointed by the Board, on recommendation of the General Superintendent of Schools, comprising representatives from all staff levels of the school system. This committee should be charged with the task of developing a program to implement the recommendations of this Panel as approved by the Board. The Chairman of the Committee should be the responsible administrator designated by the General Superintendent to co ordinate and administer integration programs.

PART IV

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

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172 *De facto* segregation in the Chicago Public Schools and the problems it generates are the product of historical forces which have operated throughout the life of the nation and the City. They are unprecedented in magnitude and complexity. They must be tackled in the broad context of the changing role of the Negro in the United States. Furthermore, it must also be remembered that similar problems face other newcomers to Chicago and to metropolitan United States in general — the Appalachian whites, the Puerto Ricans, the Mexicans, and the oldest of the inhabitants of this continent, the American Indians.

173 The elimination of *de facto* segregation in the public schools will require: 1) deep commitment to the policy of integration on the part of the Board of Education and the General Superintendent of Schools and the successful transmittal of this sense of commitment to every staff member — Deputy, Associate, and Assistant Superintendents, principals, teachers, and non-teaching staff; and 2) a systematic and orderly implementation of the Panel's recommendations.

174 The effective and orderly translation of the recommendations into specific actions, however, cannot be achieved by the Board of Education and school officials alone. Each neighborhood must be carefully and skilfully prepared for the prospect, with the help of all the available resources in the community — religious, civic, business, labor, and fraternal organization as well as government agencies. To this end it is desirable that the top leadership in Chicago—political, religious, business, labor, civic, and fraternal—actively exert its influence and authority to elicit the co-operation of local community groups. What is required is a massive program of public education aimed both at the white and Negro populations, a campaign in which the mass media of communication, the press, the radio, and TV have both a tremendous challenge and opportunity for public service.

175 Rarely in history have any communities been faced in peace time with as grave and serious a problem as now faces Chicago (and other great metropolitan centers), a problem which threatens the very future of the City and contains portentous implications

for the welfare and security of her people. The unprecedented nature of the situation requires unprecedented mobilization of community resources and unprecedented co-operative action.

176 Even while every effort is being made on the local scene, it must be recognized that the quest of the Negro for the full rights of citizenship which have so long been denied him is a national, not only a local problem. To prepare the child of the opportunity-deprived Negro family for full participation in metropolitan life requires levels of expenditure for public education beyond the city's traditional educational budgetary levels and, indeed, under the present tax framework, beyond the City of Chicago's financial resources.

177 In consequence, Chicago, like other great American cities, must necessarily look to the state and federal governments for financial aid. Under present circumstances, a massive program of federal financial assistance to local education is a must to improve the quality of education for the underprivileged Negro children in the City. Traditional public school programs and practices — school ages, class sizes, school hours, instructional methods, and facilities and equipment — are not adequate to the new task which confronts the schools. Similarly, the traditional attitudes and approaches of the educator, both administrator and teacher, require reorientation. This generation is now faced with the need to deal with the consequences of over three centuries of discrimination and deprivation which the Negro has experienced in this country. It would be unreasonable to expect that the traditional pattern of public school education and the traditional budget could be adequate to meet this unprecedented educational challenge.

178 There is need, also, to re-examine the administrative structure of the public schools against the backdrop of the local governmental structure. There can be little doubt that the task of the Chicago Board of Education in dealing with the problem of *de facto* segregation is made tremendously more difficult by the political and administrative fragmentation of the Chicago metropolitan area. As long as it remains possible for citizens to evade the problem by moving across the City's political boundaries into surrounding suburbia, *de facto* integration will be more difficult to achieve and the financial resources to improve the quality of education will be more difficult to obtain.

179 In keeping with American democratic traditions, freedom of choice must be maximized, even while institutional changes are

effected. Improved inter-group relations necessarily depend largely on education and enlightenment. Racial integration cannot be achieved solely through pressure tactics or through brute force and compulsion. On the contrary, the application of pressure or force without the lubricant of education and understanding may serve merely to harden attitudes of resistance or to accelerate the exodus of the white population from the public schools and from the City. The present controversy over whether schools should or should not be desegregated is now only intensifying the problem. Over several years, the controversy has become more heated, the tempers more frayed. The leaders of the civil rights movement and of the opposing white citizens have become more extreme in their behavior, and the controversy has resulted in widespread confusion and suspicion. It should be clear that if progress is to be made, both the proponents and opponents of school integration must place the welfare of the entire City above their more immediate goals. It should also be obvious that those persons whom we expect to mediate conflicts — the Board of Education, civic leaders, and the City officials — must take major steps to fulfil their proper role in the resolution of the issue. The extremists on either side of the desegregation issue must not be permitted to determine policy. Total community resources must be mobilized as necessary to prevent delays in the implementation of the integration program.

180 It is unfortunate that during the prolonged period of controversy the Board of Education did not move earlier and more rapidly in a determined and creative manner to resolve the problem of school integration. For the failure to ameliorate the problem has had a number of deleterious consequences. Effective integration of the schools can be and should be used as a positive instrument to help preserve neighborhoods and to retain and attract white families in the city.

181 The Board of Education must serve as an element in the complex of public agencies whose responsibility it is to make the City a good place in which to live. An understanding and ability to cooperate must exist between the Negro and white citizens in Chicago and the United States in order that the nation live up to its democratic creed and justify its leadership of the free world. The composition and quality of the public schools constitute a significant element in the endeavor to improve the City. Without the resolution of the problem of school integration and without improvement in the quality of education of the type recommended, the

future of the City of Chicago and of other great metropolitan areas will be seriously jeopardized and the interests of the entire nation may be impaired and imperiled.

182 The elimination of *de facto* segregation in the Chicago Public Schools is legally and morally necessary. But it cannot be achieved easily nor at once. What can be achieved immediately is a firm commitment to the policy of integration, and steps can be taken to effect the better distribution of Negro pupils and staff and to improve the quality of education. On the one hand, the difficulties that will confront the Board of Education and the General Superintendent of Schools must not be used as excuses for inaction; but on the other hand, the crying need to eliminate segregation must not lead to action that does not command broad public support. Genuine integration cannot be achieved without white students.

183 The problem is acute. The time for decisive action has come. It remains for reasonable men of good will, ignoring unreasonable positions on either side, to pursue indomitably the clear legal and moral goal and to achieve a solution to the sore problems which beset us.

APPENDIX A

Policy Statement Adopted by the Board of Education on February 13, 1964

1 "The members of the Chicago Board of Education believe that this city and this country would be healthier economically, educationally and morally if Chicago, Illinois, and all sections of the country reflected the kind of racial and ethnic diversity characteristic of the nation as a whole.

2 "We have already made clear our opposition to segregation or discrimination in planning attendance areas and educational programs. We believe the children of Chicago would be better prepared for today's world if their classrooms and school staffs reflected a racial and ethnic diversity.

3 "We are now seeking guidance in meeting any educational problems which may be inherent in the school which is all, or practically all, Negro. We hope later to seek similar guidance in relation to the school which is all, or practically all, white. However, we see no single over-all step or action by which such diversity can be brought immediately to all our schools by the Board of Education alone.

4 "We shall continue to seek, and promptly take, any practicable steps by which, in conformity with sound educational procedures, racial and ethnic diversity in schools and classrooms can be promoted. We shall continue to be guided by, and comply with, state and federal laws and the spirit of the 1954 Supreme Court decision on desegregation.

5 "Therefore, we reaffirm and publicly declare a policy of racial integration. We shall endeavor to effect the development of a continuous program to achieve this goal."

APPENDIX B

Segregation, Mental Health and Educational Opportunity

6 The central theme of the Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation was that even under conditions of apparent equality, separate schools could not provide an equal educational opportunity; Negroes in segregated schools would suffer psychological damage which would prevent them from learning. The decision first quoted a lower court:

7
> Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system [8].

8 The Supreme Court commented on the lower court's decision:

> Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy* vs. *Ferguson,* this finding has been amply supported by modern authority [8].

9 A group of thirty-five social scientists had submitted a brief in support of this position (8). Social research in this area had been summarized by Kenneth B. Clark in his "Effect of Prejudice and Discrimination on Personality Development" (7), read at the Mid-century White House Conference on Children and Youth, and in a report prepared for that conference by Helen Witmer and Ruth

Kotinsky (32). At the same time, Deutscher and Chein had polled the social scientists working in this area and had found that 90 per cent of them agreed with this point of view (13).

10 The basic argument was a simple one. The Negro child was confronted in many aspects of his life, including his school, with the idea that because he was a Negro, he was inferior. Having been shown this in many ways, he accepts it as true. This internalized lack of self-esteem and even self-hatred appears clearly in the work of Allison Davis and John Dollard (10), Abram Kardiner (20) and others (6,11). More recently, in two ingenious studies (9, 17) which communicate with small children through dolls and coloring books, there were indications that the Negro's self-distaste is learned at an early age; thus, if a three-to-six year old child is given two dolls, one brown and one white, and asked to choose the "nicest" one, he will probably choose the white one. The child may even explain that he doesn't want to play with the brown doll because "him bad all over." (This same rejection of Negro characteristics is reflected in the adult use of cosmetics, although it has been reported that one consequence of the recent Negro protest has been a decline in the sales of skin-whiteners and hair-straighteners.)

11 The Negro child, defined as inferior, may have difficulty in maintaining a realistic idea of what he can accomplish. Numerous studies have found that Negroes have difficulty stating and maintaining realistic goals and levels of aspiration (5). (There is a realistic element to this lack of motivation, of course; the Negro child realizes that his opportunities are limited. But even when opportunities are available to him he has difficulty realizing it.) The child often has difficulty distinguishing between realistic goals and unattainable ones; in some cases this may be because his most important goal is an impossible one — to become white (8, 20).

12 Racial discrimination has two other consequences: the Negro is repeatedly frustrated, and he is the object of physical or symbolic attack. Ordinarily, he cannot return this aggression but must "bottle it up." The effects of the conflict appear in clinical data and in psychological projective test results which show that Negroes have difficulty in expressing their hostility toward a world which, to them, is full of danger (21, 24, 29). We might expect this suppressed aggression to appear either in the "acting out" of physical violence or in withdrawal into an overly passive, unaggressive state and, in more extreme cases, into alcoholism or drug addiction. Some research indicates that another possibility is a general inability

to express any emotions. Thus, Karon (21) reports that his Negro subjects show a general desire to avoid contact with other people, and Paul H. Mussen (24) finds that responses on the Thematic Apperception Test indicate an emphasis on "generally inactive pursuits" rather than on either achievement or on relationships with others. Of particular importance is Karon's finding that the Negroes in the South show responses which are considerably more extreme than those of northern Negroes. This would be expected if these differences are partly attributable to racial discrimination, which is generally more severe in the South. Kardiner (20) argues that those subjects who had considerable interracial experience in childhood had more adequate defenses against other problems.

13 The personality characteristics of the child who has suffered from discrimination, the self-hatred, the deep sense of frustration, the unexpected aggression, and the consequent difficulty in relating to others might be expected to have a major effect on his academic achievement. Research has shown that intelligence is greatly affected by environmental factors. Psychologists found dramatic evidence for this in the fact that in World War I, Negro soldiers from the North scored much higher on IQ tests than southern Negroes, and, in fact, those from some northern states, including Illinois, made, on the average, higher scores than whites from some southern states (22). In the 1930's, Klineberg found that Negro immigrants to Philadelphia from the South showed considerable improvement in IQ scores while attending school in the North (23). The environment as a source of depressed Negro intelligence is also suggested by the two studies with very young Negro children which find that their IQ scores are the same as those of white children of the same age (1,14). One clue to the possible relationship of personality factors to ability, as measured on intelligence tests, is Sheldon Roen's finding that his subjects showed a very high positive correlation (.88) between self-esteem and intelligence (28).

14 On the basis of these findings we might expect some immediate improvement in both the attitude and the achievement of Negro students when they begin attending a desegregated school. Unfortunately, it is difficult to sort out other relevant factors. Negro mothers who had transferred their children to an integrated school were interviewed in New York, and nearly all of them stated that their child's attitudes toward school had improved (26). This, of course, is only the mother's judgment. Surprisingly, we know of no research on the actual attitude change of Negro students

in desegregated schools. Similarly, it is difficult to find research on changes in academic achievement of Negroes after desegregation. In Washington, D. C., dramatic improvements were made in achievement test scores during the five years after desegregation. For example, at the time of desegregation, sixth-grade Negro students were, on the average, over three years behind their white fellows. Although no separate figures, by race, were kept after desegregation, it is estimated that five years later, the typical Negro sixth grader was reading two grade levels ahead of the Negro students of 1954. It is impossible to determine how much of this should be attributed to the massive upgrading of the Washington system which took place in those same years (18). The problem is even more complicated when we note that Alan Wilson's study suggests that a poor student attending a school with a high average level of student ability will do better work than a student where the quality of his fellows is not as high (31). When desegregation results in Negroes attending schools with higher academic standards, this factor must also be considered.

15 Data were collected by Stallings, in Louisville, Kentucky (30). Test scores in that city indicated that the average Negro student (including in the calculations those who remained in all-Negro schools as well as those who were assigned to schools with whites) made a net gain of approximately one-third of a year on the city's standard achievement tests during the first year of desegregation. Expressed another way, approximately one-fourth of the gap between the Negroes and whites was eliminated in the first year of desegregation. However, during the next year Louisville stopped identifying students by race. The data for 1959 strongly suggest that either the Negro students or the white students, or both, had shown a considerable increase in achievement. Unfortunately, no other studies are known to us and therefore the results must be considered only as suggestive.

16 There are, of course, negative consequences of desegregation as well. Some Negroes find their first confrontation with whites in the classroom too threatening, and this will sometimes trigger new problems. It goes without saying that the Negro in a class where white students are shown favoritism may suffer severely. In any case, it is unrealistic to expect even the integrated classroom to overcome all of the psychological factors which restrict Negro achievement.

17 In this discussion, we have focused solely on the consequences

of discrimination on Negroes. There are many other factors, of course, such as social class, the family, and the neighborhood which affect personality. The psychological damage of poverty, regardless of race, is important. When these factors are introduced, it becomes very difficult to separate their individual effects. The problem is further confounded because these causes of personality differences are themselves partly the effect of present and past discrimination. The destruction of the Negro family under slavery is a classic case in point.

Effect of Segregation on White Children

18 There has been very little research on the effect of segregation and desegregation on the personality of the white student. There are three important questions: Will integration lower achievement of whites? Will desegregation decrease their prejudice? Will experience in a desegregated school have any fundamental effect upon the total personality?

19 A number of school administrators have argued that school integration should have no effect upon the achievement of the white students. Certainly, the Louisville and Washington data show no decrease and even an increase in the achievement level of white students. The Berkeley, California, school system attempted to measure the effect of integration accurately; they compared two matched groups of superior students, one of which had gone to an all-white junior high school, the other to a school with a large Negro population. There were no differences in the achievement of these two groups of students upon entry to high school (4).

20 The sociological literature would lead us to believe that we could expect a noticeable decrease in the level of prejudice of white students who attend a desegregated school. For example, Deutsch and Collins (12) found that white housewives who had lived in an integrated New York housing project were likely to have good relationships with their Negro neighbors and be less prejudiced against Negroes in general. The study was a major factor in convincing the nearby Newark housing authority to integrate its housing. (Newark had been the segregated control in the study.)

21 Only one group of social scientists has committed itself on a general statement about the effect of desegregation on the mental health of white students. Their comment must be considered speculative at this time, since there is so little research on the issue.

22 The white person, on the other hand, may gain a false

sense of superiority from the mere existence in his community of an "inferior" group. This will lead him to a self-evaluation based merely on the fact that his social, economic, and political situations compare favorably with those of the Negro. Moreover, segregation, by its very nature, is conducive to and encourages the expression of hostility and aggression, thus providing the white person with a tempting means of escape from recognizing and coping with his own problems realistically. For when feelings of self-hatred or of anger toward significant people in one's environment become too painful to face, and yet demand some outlet, they may find their target in the Negro [15].

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31. Wilson, A. B. "Social Stratification and Achievement" in H. Passow, *Education in Depressed Areas*. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1963.
32. Witmer, H., and Kotinsky, R. *Personality in the Making: The Fact-Finding Report of the White House Conference on Children and Youth*. New York: Harper, 1952.

APPENDIX C

The Armstrong Law

24 House Bill 113, introduced in the 1963 Illinois General Assembly by Representative Charles Armstrong and others, and passed with Senate Amendments, makes the following changes in the School Code of Illinois:

25 Paragraphs 10:20-11 and 34:22 are amended to add the following sentences:

> In erecting, purchasing, or otherwise acquiring buildings for school purposes, the Board shall not do so in such a manner as to promote segregation or separation of children in public schools because of color, race, or nationality.

26 Paragraph 10:21-23 is amended to add the following two sentences:

> As soon as practicable, and from time to time thereafter, the Board shall change or revise existing (attendance) units or create new units in a manner which will take into consideration the prevention of segregation, and the elimination of separation of children in the public schools because of color, race, or nationality. All records pertaining to the creation of attendance units shall be open to the public.

APPENDIX D

Overcrowding and Student-Teacher Ratios

27 The Negro elementary and high schools are considerably more crowded than are the white schools. This is primarily due to the fact that Negro families are larger, live in more crowded housing conditions, and make limited use of private schools. A massive building program has greatly reduced overcrowding. (No schools in Chicago are on double-shift now, for example.) In addition, a number of students are attending classes in mobile units and in converted non-school facilities. Even with these additional facilities, the Negro schools remain much more crowded than the white schools.

28 One measure of overcrowding is that used in the School System's "Utilization of Facilities" report: the ratio of students to the number of available classrooms in each school. This is somewhat misleading, since any room large enough to house a class is technically an available classroom, unless the room has a designated purpose as a library or practical arts room. Thus, a school which has thirty-three students per available classroom might be overcrowded because one room is being used for other purposes. Nevertheless, the figures are sufficiently accurate for the purposes of the study. The student-per-room comparison of white, integrated, and Negro schools is given in Table D-1. The table shows that 8 per cent of the Negro schools and 15 per cent of the integrated schools are severely overcrowded, having more than forty students per room, while only 1 per cent of the white schools are this crowded. If thirty-five students per room is considered the acceptable maximum, approximately 40 per cent of the Negro schools (124), 38 per cent of the integrated schools (39), and 12 per cent of the white schools (225) are overcrowded.

2

29 At the other extreme, 17 per cent of the white schools have less than twenty-five students per available room, compared to 5 per cent of the integrated schools and 3 per cent of the Negro schools.

TABLE D-1. Overcrowding and Under-utilization of Elementary Schools

STUDENTS PER ROOM	WHITE (Per cent)	INTEGRATED (Per cent)	NEGRO (Per cent)
Over 40	1	15	8
35-40	11	23	32
30-35	41	28	46
25-30	29	28	12
20-25	13	5	1
Under 20	4	0	2
Totals (Per cent)	99	99	101
Mean of students per room	29.7	34.0	34.4
Number of Schools	(225)	(39)	(124)

Notes—The ratio is based on the number of students in Grades 1 to 8 and the number of rooms which meet the code requirements necessary to permit use as classrooms. Actual class sizes do not fall below thirty-two, since teachers are provided on an equitable basis for all schools.

The number of schools varies in these tables, because branch schools, and mobile classroom branches are sometimes included or omitted, depending on their relevance to the particular table.

30 Most of the high schools in Chicago are at or above capacity at the present time; in fact, 10,000 seats in elementary schools have been pressed into service as high school branches. Even with these branches, the high schools are operating at 132 per cent of rated capacity. The Negro and integrated high schools tend to be more crowded than the white high schools, as Table D-2 indicates. Five of the eight Negro high schools, four of the ten integrated high schools, and four of twenty-six white high schools are operating at 150 per cent of capacity.

31 The number of teachers assigned to each school depends on the enrolment, and not on the number of available classrooms. If there are more teachers than classrooms, the additional staff supports the work of the classroom teacher.

TABLE D-2. High School Overcrowding by Race

EXCESS STUDENTS AS A PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL CAPACITY	RACE OF STUDENT BODY WHITE	INTEGRATED	NEGRO
	(No. Schools)	(No. Schools)	(No. Schools)
Severely Overcrowded .... (Over 50 Per Cent over capacity)	4	4	5
Above the City Average .... (32 to 50 Per Cent over capacity)	8	1	0
Under the City Average .... (Less than 32 Per Cent capacity)	14	5	3
Total No. of Schools...........	26	10	8

32 As Table D-3 indicates, there is little significant difference in the ratio of students to professional staff. The professional staff includes non-teaching staff, such as adjustment teachers and librarians, so that the figures, if these staff members are excluded, would be close to thirty-three students per teacher. The data in this table are for a sample of seventy-eight elementary schools, eight upper grade centers, and twelve high schools. The elementary schools are selected so as to represent schools in all parts of the city with high, medium, and low levels of education among the adults. (A complete description of the sample is given in Appendix F.)

TABLE D-3. Student-Staff Ratios

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

NEIGHBORHOOD	WHITE (Median)	INTEGRATED (Median)	NEGRO (Median)
High Education Status	28	28	29
Medium Education Status ...	28	28	30
Low Education Status	27	27	29

EIGHT UPPER GRADE CENTERS—Individual School Ratios

WHITE	INTEGRATED	NEGRO
School A...24	School C...23	School E...18
School B...28	School D...23	School F...24
		School G...25
		School H...25
Median 26	Median 23	Median 25

TABLE D-3. Student-Staff Ratios (Continued)

TWELVE HIGH SCHOOLS—Individual School Ratios

WHITE	INTEGRATED	NEGRO
School J...22	School N...23	School S...23
School K...23	School P...24	School T...24
School L...19	School Q...21	School U...28
School M...23	School R...22	School V...23
Median 23	Median 23	Median 24

Note—*Staff* includes all professional staff except the principal in each school.

APPENDIX E

Racial Segregation of Students and Staff in the Chicago Public Schools

33 A school may be considered to be "racially integrated" when students of various races are able to establish satisfactory relations with each other and a respect for individuality is conveyed to each student. It is patently absurd, then, to think that integration can be measured by merely counting noses. Nevertheless, this statistical report must choose, quite arbitrarily, a measure of school integration based solely on the number of Negroes and whites in the school system. By this standard, the large majority of Chicago's schools were racially segregated at the time the school system took its first racial headcount of students. In that headcount, children were classified by sight, as "white," "Negro," or "other." Schools whose student body was less than 10 per cent Negro have been classified as "white" segregated schools; if less than 10 per cent of the student body was white, the schools have been classified as "Negro" segregated schools; the remainder have been classified as "integrated" schools. Integrated schools made up 9 per cent of the elementary schools, 6 per cent of the upper grade centers, 23 per cent of the high schools, 9 per cent of the high school branches, and 44 per cent of the vocational high schools. * (See Table E-1.)

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*A more liberal definition could be used. For example, it could be specified that a school is segregated if less than 1 per cent of its student body is Negro or less than 1 per cent is white, but we would find that 77 per cent of the elementary schools in Chicago would still be classified as segregated.

TABLE E-1. Number of White, Integrated, and Negro Schools

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF STUDENT BODY	TYPE OF SCHOOL Elementary Schools	Upper Grade Centers	General and Technical High Schools	High School Branches	Vocational High Schools
		Number of Schools			
White	280	6	26	26	3
Integrated	40	2	10	2	4
Negro	123	18	8	6	2
Total	443	26	44	34	9
		Per Cent			
White	63	23	59	76	33
Integrated	9	8	23	6	44
Negro	28	69	18	18	22
Total	100	100	100	100	99

Note—Elementary Schools are classified as integrated if the regular first- to sixth-grade population is at least 10 per cent Negro and 10 per cent white.

34 Figure A is a map of the City of Chicago showing the location of the white, the integrated, and the Negro elementary schools and elementary school branches. The figure also shows by a heavy line the division between white and Negro residential areas. As the figure indicates, the integrated schools lie either along this residential boundary or in areas of integrated housing, such as Hyde Park or Lake Meadows; thus, much of the segregation might be attributed to the rigid pattern of racial segregation in Chicago housing. It is also true that there are cases where 100 per cent white and 100 per cent Negro school districts adjoin. School attendance policies and their administration do have some effect on the number of integrated schools a system has, and this appendix focuses on this point.

35 Unfortunately, it was not possible to follow the complex processes over a period of time, since there has been only one racial census to date; therefore, the analysis was limited to a description of the schools at this point in time.

Elementary Schools

36 Elementary school children are mobile; schools are not. Over any period of time, the school population will shift from one part of the city to another, overtaxing some schools and leaving others

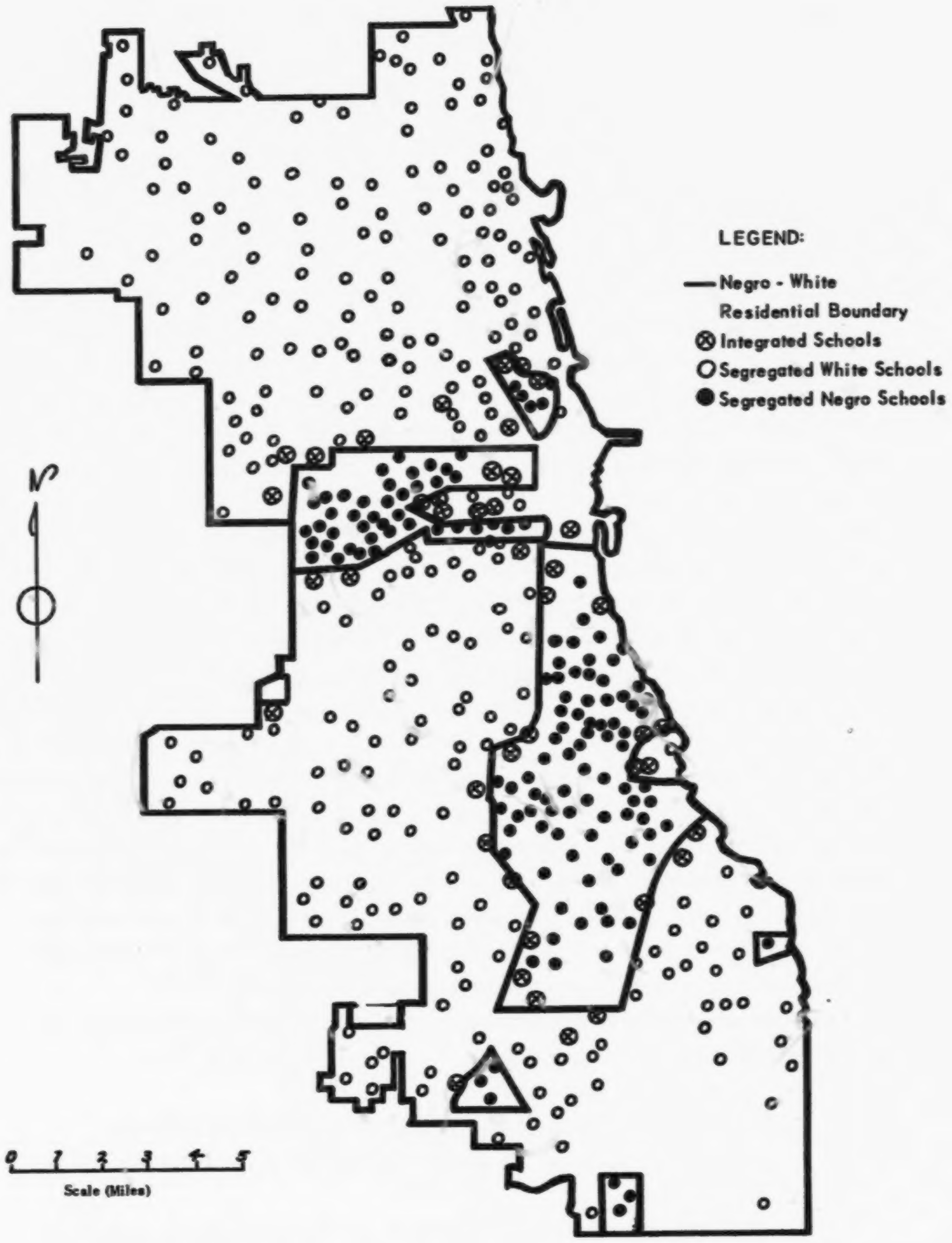
LEGEND:
— Negro - White Residential Boundary
⊗ Integrated Schools
○ Segregated White Schools
● Segregated Negro Schools
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
Scale (Miles)

Fig. A.—Location of Integrated and Segregated Elementary Schools and Elementary School Branches in Chicago vacant. An approximate count of the number of excess students and vacant seats was obtained from the inventory of facilities made in the fall of 1963. At that time, the city mean student-teacher ratio was 32.5. Since the student-teacher ratio is somewhat higher now, and some new schools have been opened, these figures are no longer accurate, but they will serve to describe the general magnitude.*

37 Areas where schools are overcrowded and where schools are under-utilized are shown in Figure B. On that map, overcrowded areas have a positive figure indicating the number of students in excess of capacity, while under-utilized areas have a negative figure indicating the number of vacant seats. (These figures assume 32.5 children per classroom.) The overcrowded white areas are those in the new developments on the western edge of the City, while the under-utilized schools are in the older areas; similarly the overcrowded Negro areas are those to which Negroes have recently moved, while the under-utilized areas are those where land clearance and decay have reduced the population. If we assume that each schoolroom would accommodate 32.5 students, we find that there would have been seats for an additional 17,000 students in the white schools and for an additional 9,000 students in the Negro schools. At the same time, however, there were 5,000 excess students in some white schools and 13,000 excess students in Negro schools. As was indicated in Appendix D, the overcrowding is more severe in the Negro schools, because of factors such as the younger age of Negro families, a higher birth rate, overcrowded housing, and the fact that Negroes tend not to use private schools. The vagaries of the population movement are reflected in two schools, only two miles apart, one of which was 47 per cent over capacity, while the other was 40 per cent vacant. (An elevated railroad track separates them.)

38 Four techniques are being used in Chicago to reduce this type of of maldistribution:

1. construction of new schools
2. having pupils commute to the under-utilized schools
3. moving the schools to where the excess pupils are (mobile classrooms)
4. redistricting or reorganization of the schools to equalize the distribution of students.

39 The Chicago system has relied primarily on new construction but has also used the other techniques.

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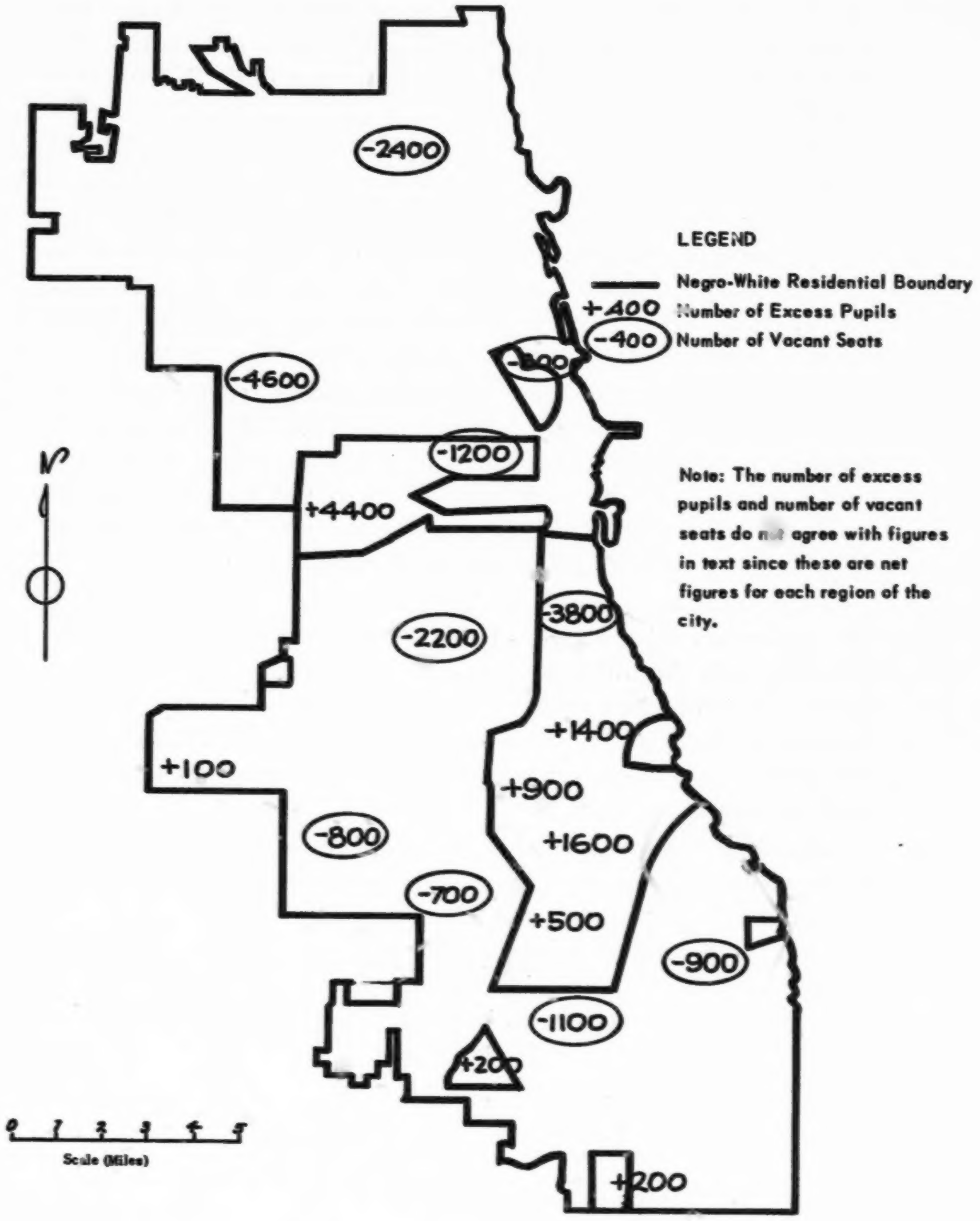
*Mobile classrooms and rented space are included in these figures; otherwise, the amount of crowding would be somewhat higher. Similarly, the use of vacated classrooms for high schools reduces the amount of under-utilization in the figure.


-2400
-4600
-1200
+4400
-2200
-3800
+1400
+100
+900
+1600
-800
-700
+500
-900
-1100
+200
+200
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
Scale (Miles)
LEGEND
Negro-White Residential Boundary
+400 Number of Excess Pupils
-400 Number of Vacant Seats

Note: The number of excess pupils and number of vacant seats do not agree with figures in text since these are net figures for each region of the city.

Fig. B.—Overcrowding and Under-Utilization of Schools, by Area of the City

40 (1) *New School Construction* – Approximately 4,120 classrooms, have been built or purchased in the last eleven years. The bulk of these new schools have been constructed in the Negro areas. (See Figure C.)

41 (2) *Movement of Students* – Although some cities transport students to vacant classrooms, this is done only to a limited extent in Chicago. Children in specially organized classes, such as those for the mentally and physically handicapped, are transported either by free public transportation or by school bus. In addition, some regular students are offered the opportunity to transfer to less crowded schools (at their own expense) but few have done so.

42 (3) *"Commuting Schools"* – Chicago is now using highly portable mobile units to supply additional facilities where needed. In November, 1963, 193 such elementary classrooms were in use (including those in upper grade centers). It should be noted that the mobile classroom is supplying classroom space for about 5,700 students, or about one-fourth of the City's excess students.

43 (4) *Districting and School Reorganization* – Attendance areas for elementary schools are adjusted periodically to relieve overcrowding with the following two factors being taken into consideration: students are usually within three-quarter-mile walking distance of their school; and students are not sent across natural boundaries, such as heavily travelled streets, railroad tracks, or railroad underpasses.

44 Schools are also reorganized by grade. At the present time, some of the unusual grade combinations in school buildings (although not necessarily under one administration) are:

1. Kindergarten through third grade
2. Fourth through eighth grades
3. First through eighth grades, with large numbers of seventh and eighth grades
4. Fifth through eighth grades
5. Seventh and eighth grades
6. Seventh through twelfth grades
7. Kindergarten through twelfth grade

The Effect of These Policies on Racial Segregation

45 This portion of the Appendix focuses on the single question: *What effect do these policies and their administration have on racial segregation of students?*

New Construction

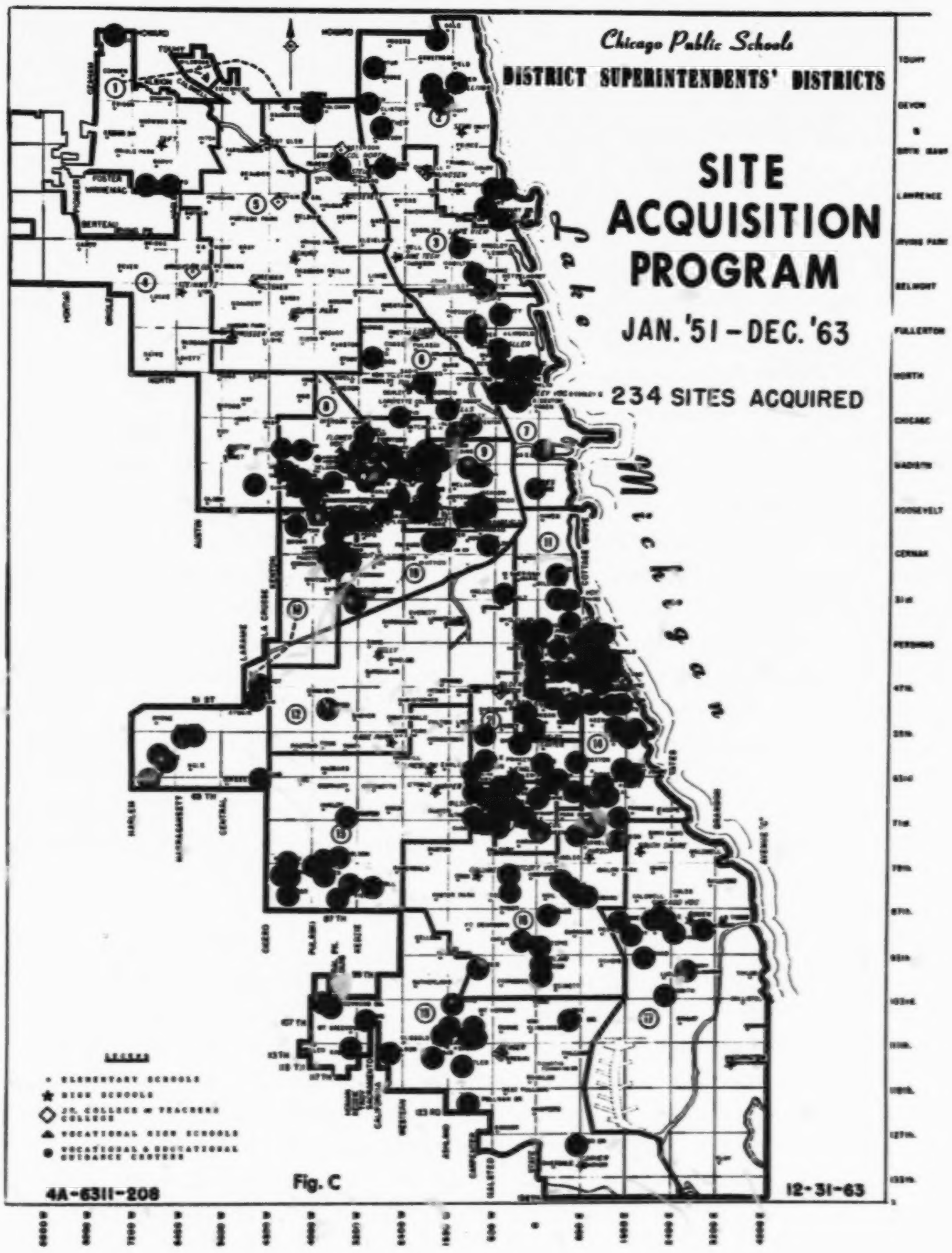

Chicago Public Schools
DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENTS' DISTRICTS
SITE ACQUISITION PROGRAM
JAN. '51 - DEC. '63
234 SITES ACQUIRED
Lake Michigan
LEGEND
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
HIGH SCHOOLS
JR. COLLEGE or TEACHERS COLLEGE
VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS
VOCATIONAL & EDUCATIONAL GUIDANCE CENTERS
4A-6311-208
12-31-63
TOUHY
DEVON
BRYN MAWR
LAWRENCE
IRVING PARK
BELMONT
FULLERTON
NORTH
CHICAGO
MADISON
ROOSEVELT
CERMAK
31st
PERSHING
47th
55th
63rd
71st
79th
87th
95th
103rd
111th
119th
127th
135th

Fig. C

46 Table E-2 summarizes the effect of the construction policy on racial segregation. As the table indicates, only four, or 6 per cent of the seventy schools constructed since 1955 were integrated in the fall of 1963.

TABLE E-2. Per Cent of White, Integrated, and Negro Elementary Schools by Date of First Occupancy

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF STUDENT BODY	DATE OF FIRST OCCUPANCY Before 1955	1955 - 1963
White	70	27
Integrated	10	6
Negro	20	57
Total	100	100
(Number of Schools)	(373)	(70)

Transportation of Students

47 The transportation of special education classes into white schools with vacant classrooms has had little effect on racial segregation.

Transportation of Schools: The Mobile Classroom

48 In November, 1963, there were 189 mobile classrooms in use in elementary schools; 145 of these were in all-Negro schools. To the extent that mobile classrooms made unnecessary the use of other techniques for reduction of overcrowding, which might result in integration, they maintained segregation; to the extent that they prevented Negro students from being transferred back to all-Negro schools, or white students to all-white schools, they maintained integration.

Redistricting and School Reorganization

49 There are forty elementary schools and branches that are integrated. Two others are integrated only in Grades 7 and 8. How much effect would a different policy regarding attendance boundaries have on the number of integrated schools? An analysis was made, reviewing the attendance area boundaries and considering various alternative procedures for constructing attendance areas. The analysis resulted in the following general conclusions:

50 1. Even if the most extreme procedures of redistricting school attendance areas to increase integration were to be used, there would still be all-Negro and all-white schools in the City.

51 2. Under the present neighborhood school policy, the majority of integrated schools occur in integrated or racially changing neighborhoods. When a rigid boundary divides

areas of Negro and white residences, the schools serving these students are usually segregated.

52 3. The principal reason why segregated residential areas are usually served by segregated schools is that major natural boundaries, such as main streets or elevated railroads, become school attendance area boundaries for reasons of safety, as well as being likely residential racial boundaries.

Administration of Attendance Area Policy

53 A policy is best evaluated by studying the actual administrative behavior which stems from it. In Chicago, we find cases in which the policy has been administered with flexibility. The following cases are cited:

54 (1) *Two cases of unusual grade organization*

In one case, two adjoining schools in an integrated neighborhood share the same attendance area. One school handles the kindergarten and first three grades, while the other school serves the fifth through eighth grades. One effect of this is to maintain integration in both schools; this, in fact, is the Princeton Plan.

55 In the second case, a natural boundary divides a community along racial lines. The boundary does not involve any hazards however. A new branch school on the Negro side was built to relieve overcrowding; however, it was built to accommodate only the first three grades, allowing older children to attend an integrated school. Again, unusual grade organization has led to integration.

56 (2) *An unusually long school boundary*

In this case, the boundary of one largely white school covers a large area, so that white children in a high-income housing development within a block of a low-income, all-Negro school are assigned to the white school six blocks away. The effect is to divide the schools in this area by a racial boundary over a mile and a half long.

57 (3) *An unusually small school with a peculiar boundary*

This particular four-room school serves eight grades from a sparsely populated all-white area shaped like a large "U." In the center of the "U" are three large all-Negro schools. This fall, the all-white school had the following enrolment:

9 first-graders
11 second-graders
14 third-graders
4 fourth-graders
7 fifth-graders
8 sixth-graders
8 seventh-graders
6 eighth-graders

58 (4) *Imbalance of space usage at adjoining schools*

There are four cases in which an all-white school and an overcrowded, predominantly Negro school are contiguous. The schools, in each case, are separated by streets or railroads which are not consistently used as school boundaries. Three of the four Negro schools are each 100 per cent Negro and adjoin schools which are 100 per cent white. The all-Negro schools have respectively 38.5, 38.0 and 36.8 children per room, and in each case it would be possible to redistribute the white children in the adjoining schools so as to provide ample space, within walking distance, for the excess students. In the fourth case, however, redistribution from one school, 89 per cent Negro with 44 children per room, to the adjoining all-white school, with 26 children per room, would result in segregating the one school as it integrated the other, with no net effect on the pattern of segregation.

59 Thus, we see that within the broad policy framework, administrative decisions also affect integration in a handful of schools.

60 It should be stressed that the particular policy used in drawing attendance areas and the administration of this policy has only a tangential effect on integration; given the housing restriction, any administration of the neighborhood school policy would leave a large number of the schools segregated.

Elementary Schools: Summary

61 In summary, there are two central points:

(1) The heavy majority (approximately 90 per cent) of white and Negro elementary-school children attend segregated schools.

(2) *De facto* segregation in the schools is mainly the result of residential segregation in the City as a whole, reinforced by a policy of geographically determined school attendance areas based on the neighborhood school policy.

Upper Grade Centers

62 Since the attendance areas for the seventh- and eighth-grade classes are larger under the upper grade center policy, we would expect to find more integrated classes at that level than we found for earlier grades. This, however, is not the case. Only two of the city's twenty-six upper grade centers serve an integrated student body. In two other cases, seventh- and eighth-grade students from an integrated elementary school are sent to a neighboring white school, thereby increasing the number of white pupils who attend

integrated schools. In all other cases, the enlarged seventh- and eighth-grade attendance area is uniracial. Integration is only slightly increased at this age level as a result of the use of the upper grade center. Figure D shows the location of the upper grade centers in Chicago.

The High Schools

63 As a general rule, the larger the attendance area of a school, the more likely it is to be integrated. Of the forty-four general high schools and technical high schools, ten (23 per cent) are integrated. The white, integrated, and Negro high schools are shown in Figure E. Note that, like the elementary schools, there are cases where an all-Negro and an all-white high school adjoin. Specifically, there are four points where high school boundaries follow racial lines: on the north and west of the West Side Negro area; a small area west of the Near South Side; and one area in the southeast part of the City. (About 40 per cent of the nineteen-mile boundary of the Negro residential area serves as a high school attendance boundary.)

64 The Chicago High Schools, both white and Negro, are severely overcrowded. The high school plant has a capacity of 75,000 students, and there are now 110,000 students. Part of the overcrowding is being relieved by the use of under-utilized elementary schools as high school branches. Ten thousand seats in elementary schools are being used for high school students. Unfortunately, these vacant seats are almost entirely in white elementary schools, so that twenty-six of the branches are white, while only six are Negro and two are integrated. The remainder of the excess students are accommodated by staggered shifts, twenty-two mobile classrooms, and other techniques.

65 As Appendix D indicated, half of the Negro and integrated schools were operating at over 150 per cent of capacity last fall, compared to a sixth of the white high schools.

The Effect of These Policies on Racial Segregation

66 Policy decisions regarding new construction, use of branches and mobile classrooms, and attendance area definition all affect the extent of segregation at the high school level, just as they do in the elementary grades.

Site Selection

67 When schools in the far south area of the city became crowded, a new high school was planned for a site which would require that it be integrated. The school was built, in spite of considerable protest, and has been integrated since then.

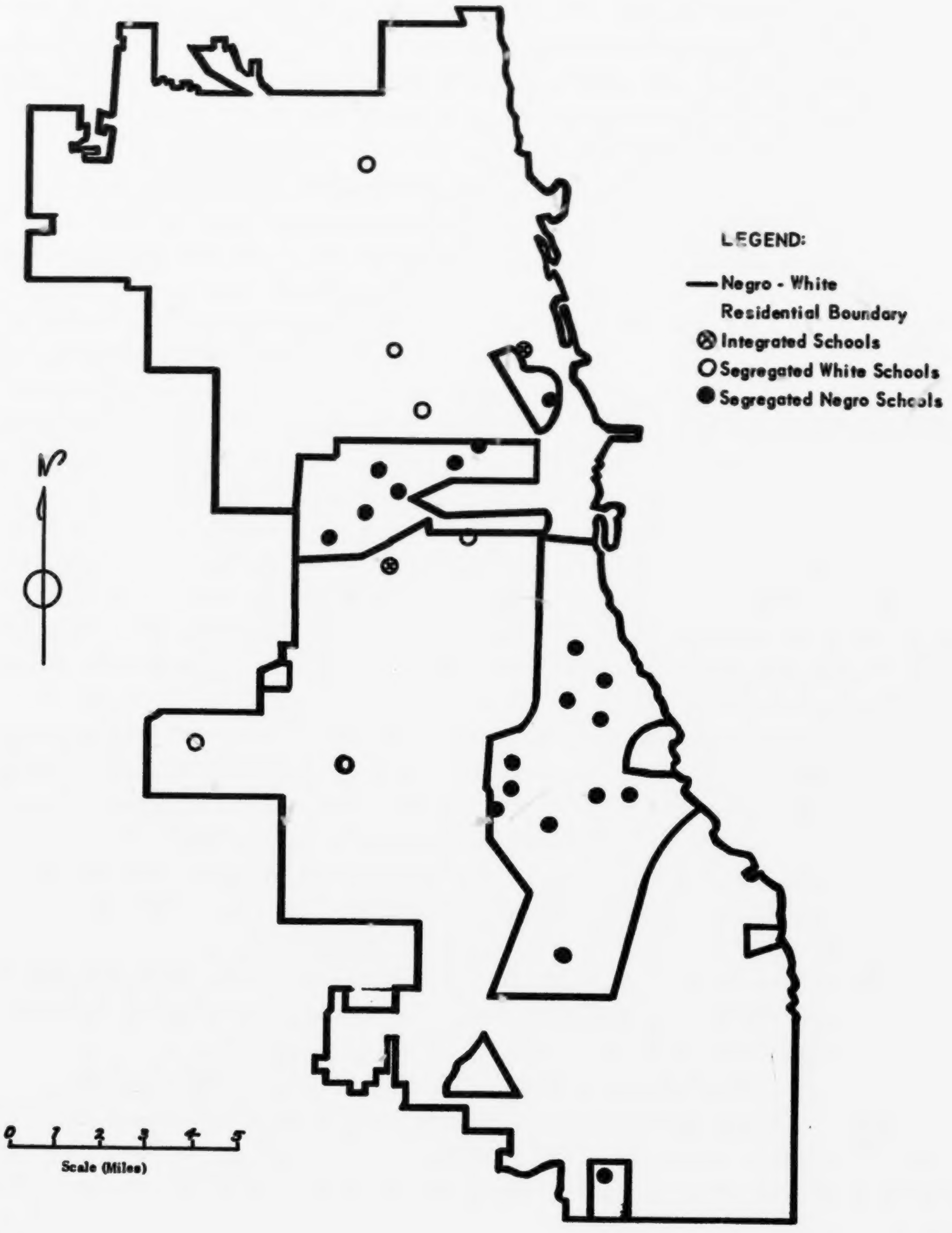

LEGEND:
— Negro - White Residential Boundary
⊗ Integrated Schools
○ Segregated White Schools
● Segregated Negro Schools
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
Scale (Miles)

Fig. D.—Location of Integrated and Segregated Upper Grade Centers in Chicago

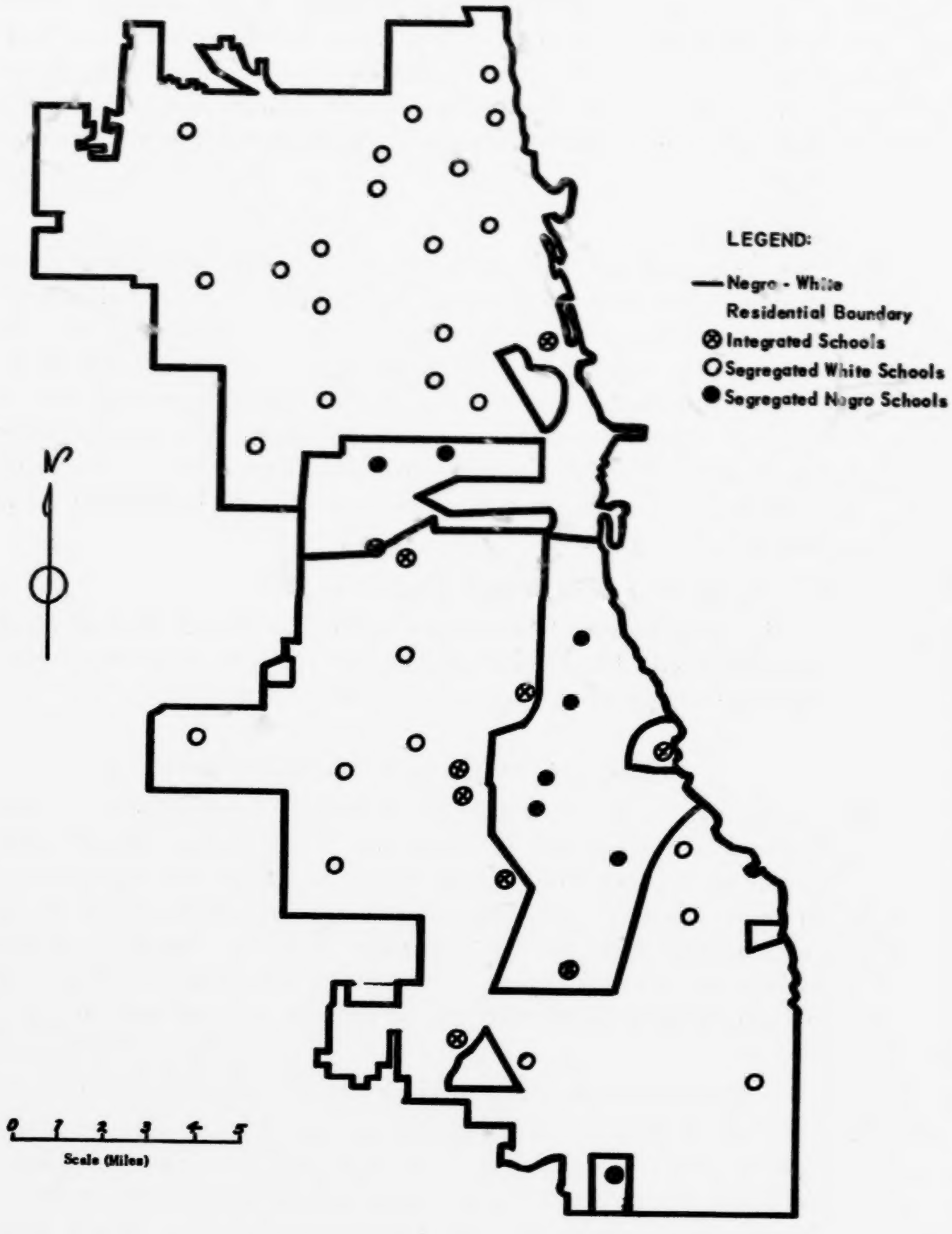

LEGEND:
— Negro - White Residential Boundary
⊗ Integrated Schools
○ Segregated White Schools
● Segregated Negro Schools
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
Scale (Miles)

Fig. E.—Location of Integrated and Segregated General and Technical High Schools

68 Also evident in Chicago is an example of site selection which led to segregation. In the 1940's, a Negro housing project was built in an otherwise white area. Rather than enlarge the nearest white high school, a small Negro high school (hardly one-half the size of the city's next smallest school) was built and is now 100 per cent Negro.

Districting

69 Six of the eight all-Negro high schools are within one mile of white residences, and there are six white high schools and three white high school branches within one mile of the Negro residential area. In several of the cases, there is a disproportionate overcrowding in the neighboring Negro schools. The most extreme case is shown in Figure F. The three schools are almost completely segregated, with the Negro school "A" severely crowded. School "C" is new, and there is some possibility that in the future it will be redistricted to take in a Negro area.

Vocational High Schools and Trade Schools

70 The city is served by only nine vocational schools, four of which are integrated. The largest one has a 24 per cent Negro enrolment. The City's apprentice trade school is 98 per cent white.

Classroom Organization within Schools

71 An integrated school does not necessarily imply that every classroom in that school will be integrated. As often happens, the classrooms are organized by achievement level, which may segregate one or more classes on the basis of either examination scores or the teachers' judgment of the particular children. Since the school system has no racial census of students by classroom, the Panel had no way of knowing whether or not there is such segregation.

Racial Composition of High School Teaching Staffs

72 A survey by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations indicates that some 15 per cent of the high school teachers are Negro. As Table E-3 indicates the majority of these teachers are in six all-Negro schools where the staff is 70 per cent Negro. At the other extreme, the nineteen schools with student bodies that are less than 1 per cent Negro have only ten Negro teachers of a total of 1,913.

73 Informal surveys by the Panel's staff suggest that the racial distribution of teachers in the elementary schools is similar.

*TABLE E-3. Race of General, Technical, and Vocational High School Teachers – by Race of Students in School**

Racial Composition of Student Body	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Per Cent of Teachers White	Per Cent of Teachers Negro
0 to 1.0 per cent Negro...	19	1,913	99.5	0.5
1 to 5 per cent Negro...	8	1,045	98.5	1.5
6 to 25 per cent Negro...	6	606	96	4.0
26 to 75 per cent Negro...	6	554	87	13
76 to 90 per cent Negro...	5	514	76	24
91 to 99 per cent Negro...	4	450	69	31
100 per cent Negro...	6	662	30	70
All Schools	54	5,744	85	15

APPENDIX F

Differences in the Teaching Staffs of White, Integrated, and Negro Schools

74 In order to compare the teaching staffs of white, integrated, and Negro schools, the school system prepared for the Panel a listing of all teaching staffs (other than the principals) in a sample of schools. The only accurate statistical data which might bear on the differences of staffs are:

1. The number of years of teaching experience in Chicago
2. The highest educational degree held
3. A "regular" or a "temporary" appointment of the teacher.

75 The last item requires clarification. Teachers who hold temporary appointments have not yet passed the examination required for certification by the Board of Education, (although they hold the Illinois teaching credentials). Many of these temporary appointments go to teachers in their first year of teaching who will then become regularly appointed (possibly in another school) if they take and pass the Chicago examination. (It seems likely that most of the temporary teachers have not taken the examination since 85 per cent are in their first year of teaching.) A small minority of

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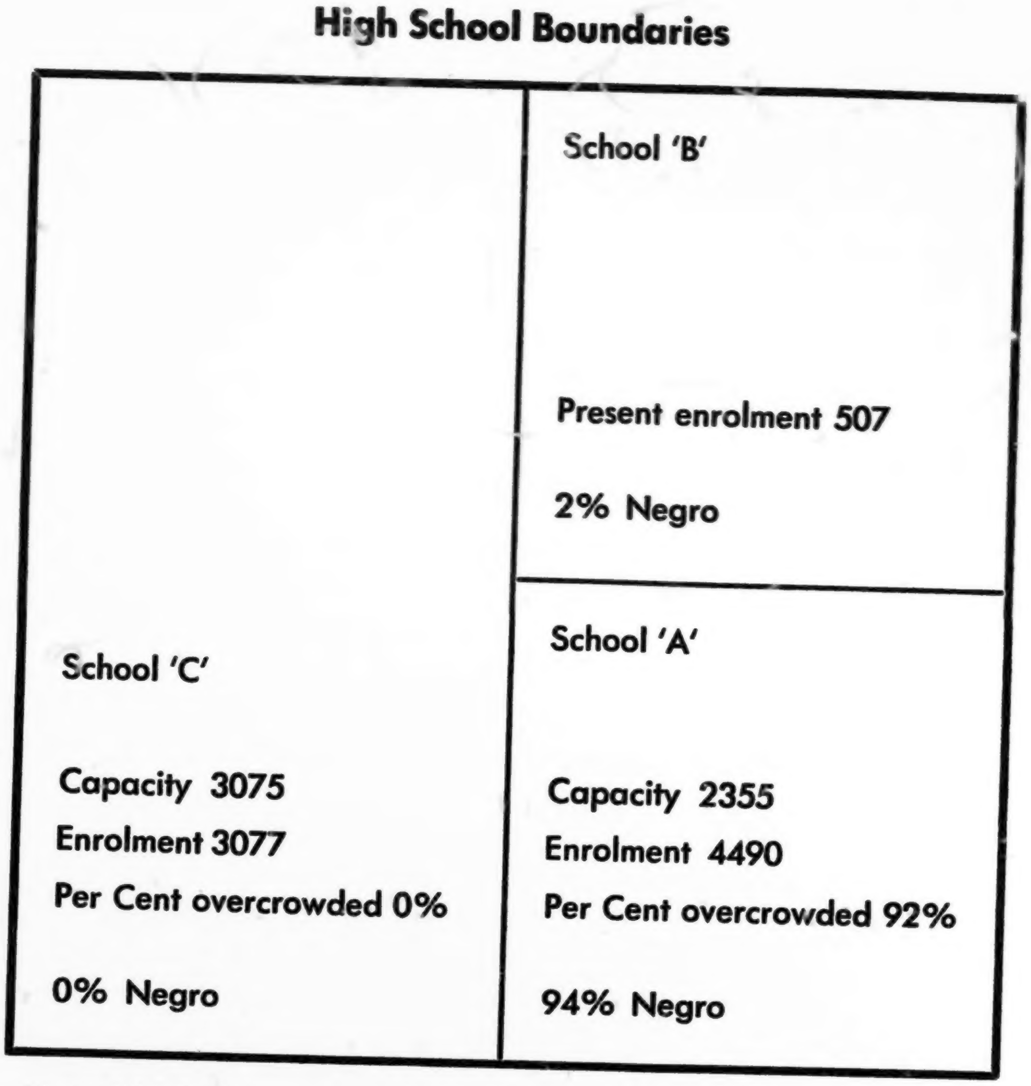
*Figures from a survey conducted by Eleanor P. Dungan and David R. Cohen, staff members of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, Edward Marciniak, Executive Director.


High School Boundaries
School 'B'
Present enrolment 507
2% Negro
School 'C'
Capacity 3075
Enrolment 3077
Per Cent overcrowded 0%
0% Negro
School 'A'
Capacity 2355
Enrolment 4490
Per Cent overcrowded 92%
94% Negro

Note—School 'B' has not reached complete occupancy; therefore no space utilization figures can be constructed.

Fig. F.—A Case of Unequal Utilization of Space between White and Negro Schools temporary appointments are held by teachers who have failed the Chicago examination or who have declined to take it. Thus, the number of temporary teachers is more a measure of the youth and mobility of the staff than its intellectual quality, even though the classification temporary appointments does include those teachers who have failed the examination.

76 It is evident that seniority, educational attainment, or certification are incomplete measures of the quality of a teaching staff. It could easily be that some of Chicago's best teachers may be young, beginning teachers who have not yet taken the examination. It can be expected, however, that teachers with advanced degrees and a few years of experience will be, on the average, better teachers. Similarly, a staff with lower turnover (reflected in these data by a high percentage of regularly assigned teachers) should perform at a higher level.

77 Tables F-1 through F-4 present the results. In each table elementary schools are divided not only by race, but also by the socioeconomic level of the neighborhood (as measured by the educational attainment of the adults in the school's census tract). The figure in each table is the median for the eight to ten schools of that category in the sample.* Since there are only eight upper grade centers and twelve general high schools in the sample, the data for each school are presented separately.

78 Table F-1 indicates the percentage of all teachers who hold temporary appointments. The data indicate that there are more temporary appointees in the Negro schools, whether they are elementary schools, upper grade centers, or high schools. The difference is most pronounced among the elementary schools in low education areas in which Negro and integrated schools have six times as many temporary appointees as the white schools (41 and 45.8 per cent compared to 8.3 per cent). On the other hand, there is much less difference among high schools, where the Negro schools have less than twice the number of temporary appointments as do the white schools.

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*The median is the middle school (or the average of the two middle schools) in a ranking from highest to lowest. It is used rather than the average because it is less sensitive to extreme cases.

TABLE F-1. Percentage of Teachers Holding Temporary Appointments in White, Integrated and Negro Schools

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Neighborhood	White (Median)	Integrated (Median)	Negro (Median)
High Education Status......	5	14	16
Medium Education Status...	4	10	16
Low Education Status......	8	45	41

EIGHT UPPER GRADE CENTERS — Individual School Percentages

White	Integrated	Negro
School A...19	School C...25	School E...62
School B...33	School D...31	School F...30
		School G...81
		School H...14
Median 26	Median 28	Median 46

TWELVE HIGH SCHOOLS — Individual School Percentages

White	Integrated	Negro
School J...31	School N...46	School S...56
School K...21	School P...15	School T...40
School L ..25	School Q...44	School U...46
School M...27	School R...35	School V...36
Median 26	Median 40	Median 43

TABLE F-2.

Percentage of Teachers with Five or More Years of Experience

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Neighborhood	White (Median)	Integrated (Median)	Negro (Median)
High Education Status......	88	71	76
Medium Education Status...	90	66	60
Low Education Status......	68	35	28

EIGHT UPPER GRADE CENTERS — Individual School Percentages

White	Integrated	Negro
School A...22	School C...46	School E...30
School B...58	School D...42	School F...53
		School G... 9
		School H...86
Median 40	Median 44	Median 42

TABLE F-2. Percentage of Teachers with Five or More Years of Experience (Continued)

TWELVE HIGH SCHOOLS — Individual School Percentages

White	Integrated	Negro
School J...49	School N...41	School S...27
School K...64	School P...60	School T...32
School L...42	School Q...62	School U...23
School M...46	School R...45	School V...49
Median 48	Median 52	Median 30

79 Another measure of the experience and mobility of the teaching staff is the percentage of teachers with five or more years of teaching experience as shown in Table F-2. There is a strong tendency for the integrated and Negro schools to have a younger group of teachers, both regularly assigned and temporary, at the elementary and high school levels, but not in the upper grade centers. (There are, however, only two white and two integrated upper grade centers in the system, so this category is least important.) The relative lack of experience of the teachers in the Negro schools may also be a consequence of the fact that these schools have many Negro teachers, and Chicago's Negro teachers are probably younger as a group. Table F-3 presents the percentage of the total teaching staff (regular and temporary appointees) who hold a Master's degree. In the upper grade centers there is little difference in the schools, but in the high schools and at two socioeconomic levels of elementary schools, the white schools have more teachers with the Master's degree. Again, this is partly the effect of experience, since teachers often obtain Master's degrees over the course of many sessions of summer school. However, it is also true that when we compare only experienced teachers, those in white schools are slightly more likely to have Master's degrees.

80 The characteristics of experience and education are combined in Table F-4 which indicates the percentage of the total teaching staff which have both a Master's degree and five years experience. The most pronounced difference is in the elementary schools, in low education areas, where white schools have four times as many experienced holders of Master's degrees, and at the high school level where the ratio is 2 to 1. The difference among elementary schools in high education areas is also noticeable, but there are slight reversals among elementary schools in medium education areas and among upper grade centers.

Summary

81 It is apparent that teachers in Negro schools are younger and have less formal education and that the teaching staff in these schools has a much higher turnover.

TABLE F-3.

Percentage of Total Teachers with Master's Degree

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Neighborhood	White (Median)	Integrated (Median)	Negro (Median)
High Education Status......	28	26	20
Medium Education Status...	20	18	19
Low Education Status......	21	14	10

EIGHT UPPER GRADE CENTERS — Individual School Percentages

White	Integrated	Negro
School A...11	School C...18	School E...21
School B...21	School D...35	School F...20
		School G...11
		School H...33
Median 16	Median ...26	Median 20

TWELVE HIGH SCHOOLS — Individual School Percentages

White	Integrated	Negro
School J...45	School N...29	School S...24
School K...59	School P...48	School T...24
School L...41	School Q...39	School U...14
School M...39	School R...37	School V...34
Median 43	Median 38	Median 24

TABLE F-4.

Percentage of Teachers with Master's Degree and Five Years Experience

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Neighborhood	White (Median)	Integrated (Median)	Negro (Median)
High Education Status	26	23	18
Medium Education Status ..	16	17	16
Low Education Status	17	9	5

TABLE F-4. Percentage of Teachers with Master's Degree and Five Years Experience (Continued)

EIGHT UPPER GRADE CENTERS — Individual School Percentages

White	Integrated	Negro
School A... 6	School C...18	School E...19
School B...21	School D...35	School F...19
		School G... 4
		School H...33
Median 14	Median 26	Median 19

TWELVE HIGH SCHOOLS — Individual School Percentages

White	Integrated	Negro
School J...40	School N...27	School S...21
School K...58	School P...47	School T...18
School L...34	School Q...31	School U...11
School M...33	School R...30	School V...32
Median 37	Median 32	Median 20

Methodological Note: Selection of the Sample

82 The schools discussed in this section were selected by a process of random sampling. The elementary schools in the city were divided into white, integrated, and Negro schools, and each group was then divided according to the median years of schooling of the adults in that census tract. High education districts were those in which the median years of schooling was over twelve (meaning that over one-half of the adults had a high school education). In the medium districts, the educational level was ten to twelve years, and in the low districts the adults had less than ten years of schooling.

83 From each of these nine groups, eight to ten schools were selected in such a way that every student would have an approximately equal chance to have his school selected. The selection procedure also required that the schools be representative of each geographic area.

84 In order to make comparisons, there were as many integrated schools drawn in the sample as there were white and Negro schools, although it was necessary to use nearly every integrated school in the city to obtain this number. This means that the city-wide average on some statistic cannot be obtained by simply averaging the nine figures given in one of the tables. A weighted average must be constructed by placing more emphasis on the Negro and white schools in low education areas and the white schools in middle education areas since over three-quarters of the schools in the city fall into one of these three categories.

APPENDIX G

Differences in School Plant, Curriculum, and Teaching Materials

Plant

85 In Appendix D it was observed that Negro elementary and high schools are considerably more crowded than are white schools. This Appendix examines three characteristics of the school plants: the amount of non-classroom supplemental space, the size of the building, and the building age.

86 Table G-1 indicates the percentage of white, integrated, and Negro schools which have the following facilities: gymnasiums, lunchrooms, auditoriums, libraries, adjustment rooms, and health clinics.

TABLE G-1. Supplementary Facilities

Type of Facility	White (Per Cent)	Integrated (Per Cent)	Negro (Per Cent)
Gymnasiums	97	100	94
Lunchrooms	34	50	68
Auditoriums	92	92	87
Libraries	95	95	85
Adjustment Rooms	98	98	93
Health Clinics	27	32	48
Total Schools	240	40	158

Note—1. Branches with six or fewer classrooms are omitted in this table.
2. In many schools, spaces have multiple uses. The above tible includes such spaces in their respective categories.

87 The Negro schools are considerably larger than the white, as is shown in Table G-2. Seven per cent of the Negro schools have over 2,000 students in the kindergarten through eighth grades; 12 per cent have between 1,600 and 2,000, and an additional 28 per cent have from 1,200 to 1,600 students. Thus, a total of 47 per cent of the Negro schools have over 1,200 students, compared to 16 per cent of the integrated schools, and 7 per cent of the white ones. The elementary schools have decreased in size over the last few decades, and further reductions are a goal of the Board of Education at this time.

TABLE G-2. Size of Elementary School Buildings (All Branches Excluded)

Number of Students	White (Per Cent)	Integrated (Per Cent)	Negro (Per Cent)
Over 2,000	0	0	7
1,600 - 2,000	1	3	12
1,200 - 1,600	6	13	28
800 - 1,200	29	46	41
400 - 800	51	33	10
0 - 400	13	5	2
Total (Per Cent)	100	100	100
Number of Schools	(232)	(39)	(133)
Mean size (approximate)	725	900	1,250

88 The large amount of new school construction in Negro areas in the last decade has meant that many Negroes attend school in new buildings. Thirty-seven per cent of the Negro elementary schools are less than ten years old, compared to 15 per cent of the integrated schools and 9 per cent of the white schools.

Teaching Materials

89 Table G-3 shows the per-student distribution of funds for books and teaching supplies. The per-student allotments are derived from the 1963 average daily attendance and the 1963 expenditure.

TABLE G-3. Mean Budgeted Per-Student Allotment (In Dollars) for Supplies, Textbooks and Library Books

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Neighborhood	White	Integrated	Negro
High Education Status	$ 6.90	$ 8.26	$ 8.81
Medium Education Status	6.95	7.65	7.95
Low Education Status	9.02	8.02	8.83

UPPER GRADE CENTERS

White	Integrated	Negro
$14.51	$ 9.37*	$15.82

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*This apparent deviation seems to be an artifact of the accounting procedure.

TABLE G-3. Mean Budget Per-Student Allotment (In Dollars) for Supplies, Textbooks and Library Books (Continued)

HIGH SCHOOLS

White	Integrated	Negro
$10.95	$10.17	$10.69

Note—The computations are based on total expenditures, divided by average daily attendance for the year.

90 To compensate for the needs of high-transiency schools, an increase of 20 per cent is added to their budget. The system provides additional funds above those which are budgeted to meet emergencies in any particular school. Such funds are not budgeted to particular schools, but are allocated during the school year.

91 The mean per-student allotments in the elementary schools reflect this policy; the allotment for the white schools increases as the educational level of the parents decreases, and the allotments for the Negro and integrated elementary schools are uniformly high. Except for one apparently meaningless deviation, the upper grade center and high school expenditures do not vary with race.

Curriculum Offerings in the Regular High Schools

92 The variety of courses offered within each of the City's general high schools are essentially similar, regardless of the racial composition of the school. This conclusion is derived from studying the course offerings of twenty-eight of the City's forty-one high schools. The offerings were extracted from the Master Programs of thirteen of the possible twenty-four white high schools, nine integrated high schools, and six of the eight Negro high schools. All the information presented below is based on the Master Programs for one semester, Spring, 1964.

93 Every one of the schools examined offered the following basic courses: English, general science, biology, chemistry, physics, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, civics, United States history, and world history. Every school offered the following commercial courses: bookkeeping, commercial law, typing, stenography, and shorthand.

94 The number of honors or advanced placement courses varies somewhat with the racial composition of the school, as is indicated in Table G-4.

TABLE G-4. Number of Schools Offering Honors or Advanced Placement Courses

COURSE	Of Thirteen White High Schools	Of Nine Integrated High Schools	Of Eight Negro High Schools
Honors English	12	8	5
Advanced placement English	12	2	0
Honors chemistry	7	3	3
Honors biology	12	8	6
Honors algebra	10	7	3
Advanced algebra	6	5	3
College algebra	5	3	2
Honors geometry	10	7	2
Honors physics	5	3	1
Honors U. S. history	13	8	4
Honors geography	2	1	2

Vocational High School Offerings

95 On the basis of course offerings, Table G-5 shows for each school the number of different courses of study in the regular vocational high school. The table indicates that of the two most extensive programs, one is in a Negro school and the other in an integrated school. The table also indicates that some other schools have limited offerings. We have no statistical data on the equality of these programs.

TABLE G-5. Number of Program Offerings in Each Vocational High School

WHITE		INTEGRATED		NEGRO	
School G	5	School C	17	School A	34
School H	8	School D	8	School B	9
School J	12	School E	16		

APPENDIX H

Pupil Attendance, Dropout, Mobility, and Achievement

96 A complete discussion of the differences between students in predominantly white and predominantly Negro schools, either in scholastic achievement or behavior in school, would require a massive research project. Statistics are available on four factors: student attendance, mobility, high school dropouts, and the achievement on the city-wide standard examinations.

Attendance

97 Table H-1 presents the rate of absenteeism in the sample of elementary schools. Absenteeism is lowest in high education areas and does not vary with race in these schools. Negro schools in low education areas have an average absenteeism of 10 per cent compared to 8 per cent in white schools in low education areas.

TABLE H-1. Median Per Cent of Total Enrolment Absent for September, 1963, to January, 1964: Elementary Schools

Neighborhood	WHITE	INTEGRATED	NEGRO
High Education Status	7	8	7
Medium Education Status	7	8	10
Low Education Status	8	9	10

High School Dropouts

98 The schools keep records on the voluntary dropouts among high school students. (This figure excludes dropouts due to illness, leaving the city, etc.) These dropouts are expressed in annual percentages. Thus, if a school has a dropout rate of 10 per cent annually, this means that about 40 per cent of its entering ninth-graders voluntarily withdraw before graduation.

99 The eight Negro general high schools have voluntary dropout rates ranging from 2.4 to 11.5 per cent, with the median at 9.0. In contrast, the twenty-four white high schools range from 0.4 per cent to 13.3 per cent, with the median at 4.2 per cent. The integrated schools range from 3.6 per cent to 16.4 per cent, with a median between the white and Negro at 7.0 per cent.

Mobility

100 A study by the Chicago Public Schools shows that predominantly Negro school districts have a generally higher mobility rate than do predominantly white districts, as shown in Table H-2. Their analysis permits the computation of a pupil mobility rate, which is the number of students transferring out of a school plus the students transferring in, presented as a percentage of the average enrolment. Thus, if a school had an average enrolment of 1,000, but during a semester 280 students withdrew and 300 transferred in, the mobility would be a total of these two figures, 580, and the mobility rate would be 58 per cent. Put another way, approximately 29 per cent of the seats in this school changed occupants in that semester. The student mobility rate for the district is the weighted average of the rates for each school.

TABLE H-2. Pupil Mobility in Selected Elementary School Districts, 1962-63

ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS	DISTRICT MOBILITY RATE	
	Fall	Spring
Negro	60	29
	44	24
	43	19
	36	16
Mixed	43	19
	39	16
White	36	20
	33	18
	17	9

101 During the fall term of the 1962-63 school year, one Negro district experienced a 60 per cent mobility rate, while the highest percentage for any of the predominantly white districts was 36. Interestingly, of the four predominantly Negro districts included in the sample, three had the highest student mobility rates and the three predominantly white districts had the lowest student mobility rates.

Achievement

102 The evaluation of variation in school achievement is very complex. Many factors in the home and school combine to make some students score higher than others on tests. Therefore, the reader must interpret the achievement test scores given here with great caution. It must be stressed that these tests are verbal and cannot be considered culture-free.

103 Table H-3 presents the achievement levels obtained by Chicago sixth-graders on the Metropolitan Achievement Test. District achievement is recorded in terms of grade levels. A score of 7.5 in social studies means, roughly, that the sixth-grader making the score has achieved the level of the average student halfway through the seventh grade. Only one Negro district shows achievement equal to either the national or the City median. According to this test, Chicago sixth-graders in Negro districts achieved from 1.2 to 2.1 grade levels below white districts on the various subject areas evaluated.

104 Tables H-4 and H-5 present achievement results for Chicago's ninth-graders. The data are based on the Word Knowledge and Reading parts of the Metropolitan Achievement Test. In both tables the numbers reported refer to the percentage of students in a given high school that achieved at or above the city-wide fortieth percentile. (If there were such a thing as an average Chicago high school, 60 per cent of its students would score above the city-wide fortieth percentile.)

105 The percentage of Negro students in each of the high schools listed as integrated is derived from the 1963 headcount of tenth-graders. Dropouts and other changes that may alter the composition of a high school student body over a one-year period necessarily make the figures inexact. They agree closely with the percentage of Negro ninth-grade students enrolled in 1964 figures, however.

106 Table H-4 (Word Knowledge) shows that in all but three of the white high schools more than 60 per cent of the students achieve higher than the city-wide fortieth percentile. In none of the Negro high schools did 60 per cent of the students achieve at this level.

107 The results of the Reading Test, Table H-5, show similar achievement differences between the Negro and the white high schools. In all but two white high schools more than 60 per cent of the students scored above the city-wide fortieth percentile; in no Negro high school did 60 per cent of the students achieve at this level.

108 The final table, H-6, introduces two other factors, the scores of the students on ability tests and the educational status of the neighborhood. The data are presented for the sample of seventy-eight elementary schools. Since the number of students taking the examinations in some of the schools is small, only broad statistical groupings, called stanines, are used. Small differences in median stanines cannot be considered reliable. The table does indicate, however, that students in areas of high educational status score higher on both the ability and achievement examinations. However, at each level of educational status, the students in Negro schools score lower than students in integrated schools who, in turn, score lower than students in white schools on both the ability and achievement tests. Noteworthy is the fact that in achievement tests Negro pupils and white pupils in low education areas rated as close to their mental ability scores as did white students in high education areas.

*TABLE H-3. Elementary Achievement, Grade 6, 1963**

Racial Composition	Percentage Negro†	Test 1 Word Meaning	Test 2 Reading	Test 6 Arithmetic	Test 8 Social Studies	Test 10 Science
White Districts	0.0	8.7	7.7	7.6	8.0	7.5
	0.0	7.9	7.3	7.6	7.7	7.3
	0.0	6.9	6.7	7.0	6.7	6.8
	1.7	7.1	6.9	7.4	6.9	7.0
	0.0	7.3	7.0	7.4	6.9	7.0
	1.6	6.5	6.2	7.3	6.5	6.6
	6.0	7.6	7.2	7.5	7.1	7.1
	3.7	5.9	5.8	6.9	5.8	6.0
	6.0	7.2	7.0	7.5	7.0	6.9
Mixed Districts	38.0	6.6	6.5	7.2	6.3	6.6
	48.5	5.4	5.2	6.5	5.2	5.7
	49.5	5.1	5.1	6.2	5.2	5.5
	68.5	5.6	5.4	6.7	5.6	5.7
	80.0	4.7	4.7	6.0	4.9	5.2
	83.1	4.8	4.9	6.1	4.9	5.3
	83.5	5.6	5.3	6.5	5.3	5.7
Negro Districts	99	6.1	6.1	6.8	6.2	6.1
	99	5.1	5.0	6.1	5.0	5.4
	100	4.9	4.9	6.2	4.7	5.4
	100	4.7	5.0	6.1	5.0	5.4
	100	5.3	5.3	6.3	5.2	5.5
City Median		6.0	5.8	6.8	5.9	6.0
Median, White Districts		7.2	7.0	7.4	6.9	7.0
Median, Mixed Districts		5.4	5.4	6.5	5.2	5.7
Median, Negro Districts		5.1	5.0	6.2	5.0	5.4
Difference, White Minus Negro		2.1	2.0	1.2	1.9	1.6

*Scores from Metropolitan Achievement Test administered in Spring, 1963.

†Percentage Negro is for the appropriate grade level and does not equal the percentage for the entire district.

TABLE H-4. PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS IN EACH HIGH SCHOOL SCORING AT OR ABOVE THE CITY-WIDE FORTIETH PERCENTILE
Metropolitan Achievement Test (Word Knowledge)
Ninth Grade, 1963

Individual School Percentages

WHITE		INTEGRATED – Ranked According to Per Cent Negro (in parentheses)		NEGRO	
School	Percent	School	Percent	School	Percent
A	94	AA (12)	62	AAA	56
B	92	AB (13)	70	AAB	31
C	91	AC (21)	76	AAC	31
D	91	AD (23)	74	AAD	30
E	89	AE (25)	57	AAE	28
F	88	AF (28)	43	AAF	24
G	86	AG (53)	66	AAG	23
H	84	AH (72)	16	AAH	23
I	81	AI (73)	32	AAI	9
J	76	AJ (78)	33	AAJ	8
K	75	AK (88)	53		
L	73	AL (88)	52		
M	71	AM (88)	22		
N	71				
O	71				
P	69				
Q	67				
R	67				
S	65				
T	64				
U	58				
V	50				
W	37				
Median	73	Median	53	Median	26

NOTE—By definition, the city-wide median is 60 per cent.

Vocational Schools are included; branches are excluded.

The percentage Negro is for the appropriate grade level and is not equal to the percentage for the schools.

TABLE H-5. PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS IN EACH HIGH SCHOOL SCORING AT OR ABOVE THE CITY-WIDE FORTIETH PERCENTILE
Metropolitan Achievement Test (Reading), Ninth Grade, 1963

Individual School Percentages

WHITE		INTEGRATED – Ranked According to Per Cent Negro (in parentheses)		NEGRO	
School	Percent	School	Percent	School	Percent
A	94	AA (12)	60	AAA	57
B	92	AB (13)	63	AAB	40
C	89	AC (21)	70	AAC	38
D	87	AD (23)	73	AAD	34
E	87	AE (25)	54	AAE	33
F	85	AF (28)	44	AAF	32
G	83	AG (33)	48	AAG	30
H	80	AH (53)	73	AAH	24
I	77	AI (72)	12	AAI	16
J	76	AJ (73)	34	AAJ	11
K	75	AK (78)	38		
L	72	AL (88)	52		
M	71	AM (88)	55		
N	70	AN (88)	25		
O	68				
P	67				
Q	67				
R	66				
S	65				
T	62				
U	62				
V	50				
W	47				
Median 72		Median 53		Median 33	

NOTE—By definition, the city-wide median is 60 per cent.

Vocational Schools are included; branches are excluded.

The percentage Negro is for the appropriate grade level and is not equal to the percentage for the schools.

TABLE H-6. Median Stanine of Ability and Achievement Test Scores by Race and Socioeconomic Status of School

NEIGHBORHOOD	WHITE		INTEGRATED		NEGRO	
	Achieve.*	Ability†	Achieve.*	Ability†	Achieve.*	Ability†
High Education Status......	6	7	5	6½	5	5
Median Education Status....	5½	6	4½	5	4	4
Low Education Status.......	5	5	4	4	3	3½

*Metropolitan Achievement Test, sixth grade, "Word Knowledge"

†California Test of Mental Maturity, sixth grade

NOTES—1. Medians are based on seven to nine schools in each group for which data were available.

2. Stanines are statistical summary-measures for distributions. The higher stanine figure indicates higher ability or achievement. Five is the average stanine for the City. A stanine of seven indicates that the students score on the average higher than three-quarters of the students in the City, but below the top one-tenth.

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Ferkauf Graduate School of Education, Yeshiva University

A GUIDE
TO THE STUDY OF
THE REPORT TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION
by
THE ADVISORY PANEL ON INTEGRATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

prepared by
Members of the Staff of the Chicago Public Schools
April 6, 1964

On March 31, 1964, the five man panel presented its report orally at a meeting of the Board of Education. Simultaneously, a limited number of multilithed copies, each marked as an "Unedited Draft," was made available. A final, edited draft accompanies this study guide.

The Panel Report indicates that the schools have a responsibility to assist individuals and groups to understand the problems presented in this Report. As a first step in this process, this guide has been prepared as an aid to careful, thoughtful reading of the Report.

The Report of the Panel is divided into several parts as follows:

Letter of Transmittal
Resolution Establishing the Panel
Part *I* - Background
Part *II* - De Facto Segregation and Quality of Education in the Chicago Public Schools
Part *III* - Recommendations
Part *IV* - Concluding Observations
Appendices

This guide is limited to the material presented in the Panel Report with the exception that there is no guide to reading of the appendices and there is some information in a supplemental section.

Reactions to this guide will be welcomed.

Background of the Panel Report

Letter of Transmittal
and
Resolution Establishing the Panel

Pages *V* and *VII*

It is suggested that the "Resolution Establishing the Panel," page *VII*, be read before the letter of transmittal, page *V*.

Questions

1. In its Resolution (page *VII*) what did the Board of Education state its policy to be with respect to educational opportunity for children in the schools?
2. What did the Board of Education acknowledge in the Resolution establishing the Panel?
3. What task was assigned to the Panel in the Resolution?
4. How did the Panel describe its task in its letter of transmittal? (page *V*)

Part *I* of the Panel Report

Background

Pages 1 - 12

Included in Part *I* of the Panel Report are four sections:

Introduction
Demographic and Social Background
Legal Background
Integration in a Pluralistic Society

Questions

1. What definitions are given or implied in the introduction for the terms de facto segregation (page 4) and de jure segregation (page 4)?

2. What factors are stated as causes of de facto segregation?

3. In what ways does the Negro in-migrant resemble and in what ways does he differ from previous non-Negro immigrant groups, as described on page 5?

4. What is the population trend in Chicago as to balance of Negro and white groups, and what are the implications for public schools?

5. What are the implications for the Chicago public schools of the trend toward movement of white families to the suburbs?

6. To what general school situation did the 1954 Supreme Court decision pertain (paragraph 29, page 8)? What questions did the local and Federal Courts consider, as indicated on page 9?

7. What are the provisions of the School Code as amended by the Armstrong bill of 1963? (See the last Section of this guide.)

8. What are some of the factors involved in integration in American society as indicated in paragraphs 34 and 35, page 10?

9. What is the "test of freedom" as defined in paragraph 38, page 11?

10. What is implied by the phrase "like other citizens" as used in the first sentence of paragraph 39, page 11?

11. How is the program of school integration related to the total program of integration in the city? (paragraph 41, page 12)

12. Why has the "question of school integration...become simply a theoretical matter...in the Nation's capital" according to paragraph 43, page 12?

Part *II* of the Panel Report

De Facto Segregation and Quality of Education in the Chicago Public Schools

Pages 13 - 23

Part *II* of the report is a summary of the analysis made by the Panel of data which was provided to them by the Chicago public schools and by others, together with the Panel's interpretation of these data. Part *II* is divided into two sections:

De Facto Segregation
Quality of Education

Questions for section entitled, "De Facto Segregation"

1. What are the Panel's definitions of integration as indicated on page 14 of the text and on page 55 of the appendices?
2. In your opinion, how does the presence in a school of Indian, Arab, Oriental, Mexican, or Puerto Rican children affect the integration of that school?
3. Compare the number of white schools, Negro schools, and integrated schools under Definition *I* and Definition *II* on page 14.
4. Examine the maps on pages 57, 66, 67 of the appendices. Note the locations of the schools designated as white, Negro, and integrated and their relationship to each other.
5. List the criteria, in order of priority, which you think should determine where a new school should be built.
6. If the law were to permit, what, in your opinion, would be the advantages and disadvantages of making a teacher's race a part of his personnel record? Of making a teacher's religion or national origin a part of his personnel record? (Paragraphs 53-56, page 16)
7. What, in your opinion, are the reasons why a teacher might like to teach in a particular school? Why might he not like to teach in a particular school?
8. What do you think might be the advantages and the disadvantages of a program which required teachers to teach in certain schools not of their choice?

9. What can parents or the community do to make teaching in their school desirable?

Questions for section entitled "Quality of Education"

1. In relation to paragraph 58 on page 16, read page 75 in the appendices to determine how the sample schools were selected.
2. In relation to paragraph 67 on page 18, does race or the educational level of adults in the community appear to be more important in influencing the number of temporarily certificated teachers in a school?
3. Why do you think that more of the experienced teachers are to be found in schools in areas of high educational level than in areas of low educational level, regardless of the Negro or white composition of the school?
4. The Report indicates that, in areas of low educational level, school attendance is lower and the drop-out rate is higher than in other areas. Why do you think this is true?
5. What do you believe to be the relationship between pupil mobility in areas of low educational level and success in school?
6. What inferences are to be drawn from the four generalizations in paragraphs 79-83, pages 20 and 21 which pertain to pupil achievement?
7. What inferences are to be drawn from paragraphs 84-92, pages 21 and 22, which deal with curriculum and teaching materials?
8. What inferences are to be drawn from paragraphs 93-100, pages 22 and 23, which deal with physical facilities?
9. Is there a relationship between the density of the population and the mean (average) size of schools as indicated in paragraph 96, pages 22 and 23?

Part *III* of the Panel Report

Recommendations

Pages 24 - 38

Part *III* of the Report consists of thirteen recommendations following a three page introductory section. It is suggested that the entire chapter be read through and subsequently that the recommendations be studied by topics as indicated below.

The thirteen recommendations made by the Panel may be grouped under five headings as follows:

A - School Organization

- Rec. 1. Student Open Enrollment Patterns
- Rec. 2. Optimal Utilization of Space
- Rec. 3. Location of Schools and School Boundaries

B - Teacher Personnel

- Rec. 4. Integration of Faculties
- Rec. 5. Assignment of Teachers
- Rec. 6. Teacher Education
- Rec. 7. In-Service Education

C - The Program of Education (Saturation)

- Rec. 8. Learning Resources
- Rec. 9. Improving Achievement in Basic Skills
- Rec. 10. Counseling and Guidance
- Rec. 11. Saturation Program

D - Meeting the Costs (Rec. 12)

E - School-Community Relationship (Rec. 13)

Questions

A. Introductory Pages 25-27

Note: Attention is called to pages 44-49 of Appendix B in which there is a discussion of research on Segregation, Mental Health, and Educational Opportunity.

1. What are the two main concerns of public education as outlined on page 25? Compare with paragraph 181 on page 42.

2. Turning to pages 24 and 25, to which function does the Panel give priority?

3. How does the Panel view the neighborhood school policy? (page 25-26)

4. What are the assumptions implied in paragraph 109, page 26?

5. In paragraph 110, page 27, what does the Panel suggest might be necessary in order to implement the recommendations which are made?

6. What are the premises, as listed in paragraph 111, page 27, on which the recommendations of the Panel are based?

7. Devise a definition for "racially segregated education" and "racially integrated schools" which would be consistent with the premises outlined in paragraph 111, page 27.

B. Recommendations Regarding School Organization Policies (Rec. 1-3)

1. What limitation on "freedom to choose the school he will attend" is suggested in paragraph 113, page 27?

2. Taking the "immediate first steps" recommended in Sections A through D, pages 27-29, consider the following questions:

    a. What constitutes a "prescribed area surrounding" a school?

    b. When is over-enrollment reached?

    c. After over-enrollment is reached, what is the principle to be used to ensure equitable assignment of all children?

3. How could a principle be established to ensure equitable treatment of all children with respect to free transportation? (paragraph 129, page 30)

4. What are the financial implications for taxpayers of free transportation?

5. How can school boundaries be drawn to maintain an integrated school as neighborhoods change?

C. Recommendations Regarding Teacher Personnel Policies (Rec.4-7)

Note: The following is the full text of Illinois School Code, Section 24-4, portions of which are cited in paragraph 133, page 30. Underlining indicates italics in the School Code of 1961.

> "Section 24-4. Religion or religious affiliation. The color, race, nationality, religion or religious affiliation of any applicant seeking employment either as a superintendent, principal, teacher or otherwise in the public elementary or high schools shall not be considered either a qualification or disqualification for any such employment. *Nor shall color, race, nationality, religion or religious affiliation be considered in assigning any person to an office or position or to any school in the school system.* If any member of a school board, superintendent, principal or other school officer violates the foregoing provision or directly or indirectly requires, asks or seeks information concerning the *color*, *race*, *nationality*, religion or religious affiliation of *any person* in connection with his employment *or assignment*, or if any person, agency, bureau, corporation or association employed or maintained to obtain or aid in obtaining employment of the kind described, directly or indirectly requires, asks, seeks, indicates or transmits orally or in writing information concerning the *color*, *race*, *nationality*, religion or religious affiliation of an applicant for such employment, with the intent to influence such appointment, he shall be liable to a penalty of not less than $100 nor more than $500, to be recovered by the person aggrieved thereby in any court of competent jurisdiction, and he shall also be fined not less than $100 nor more than $500 or imprisoned not less than 30 days nor more than 90 days, or be both so fined and imprisioned"

1. If the above law were changed so that race (or religion or nationality) would become a qualification (or disqualification) for employment and assignment, what principle could be established which would ensure equitable treatment for all teachers with respect to such matters as seniority, transfer, et cetera?

2. What are some of the reasons why teachers request transfers from one school to another? What effect might restrictions on freedom to choose one's school have on the supply of teachers for Chicago?

3. What criteria could be established to identify schools in which incentives would be offered to teachers? (paragraph 136)

4. What criteria could be established to identify the individual teachers for service in such schools?

5. How may the assignment preference of teachers be protected at the same time that measures are taken to alter the racial balance of faculties?

6. What emphasis within teacher education is proposed in paragraphs 139 and 140, page 32?

7. How could the in-service training proposals in paragraph 141, page 32, be implemented on a "systematic exposure" basis?

8. What financial implications are inherent in the proposals relating to teacher personnel policies?

D. Recommendations Regarding the Program of Education (Rec. 8-11)

1. What implications for personnel and policy are related to the recommendation for increased counselor services in paragraph 146, page 33?

2. What might result with regard to pupil enrollment and teacher availability if all schools with multiple problems were to become part of a saturation proposal as described in paragraphs 148-159?

3. Which of the elements of the saturation program listed on page 34 are already being carried on to some extent in the Chicago public schools? What other components of a saturation program have been tried or have been suggested previously? What other programs might be included in a saturation program?

4. Why have programs such as those suggested on page 34 and others not been utilized to a greater extent in the Chicago public schools?

5. What might be the advantages to all children if Chicago implemented such programs city-wide?

6. What are the financial implications for taxpayers involved in Recommendations 8-11?

E. Recommendations Regarding Meeting the Costs (Rec. 12)

1. What are the implications for all Chicago public school pupils when per pupil expenditures in Chicago are compared with suburban expenditures, as indicated in paragraphs 161 and 162 on page 36?

2. What steps should be taken to secure funds to provide education at the per pupil expenditure level indicated for suburban schools?

3. What criteria could be developed to determine which schools in the city will have a higher level of expenditures.

4. What considerations should be used to establish over-all priorities with respect to educational expenditures?

F. Recommendations Regarding School-Community Relationships (Rec. 13)

1. What are the advantages and disadvantages of providing information in terms of race and "other significant" characteristics as suggested in paragraph 167, page 37?

2. In attempting to improve internal school communication, what should be the scope of the effort as indicated in paragraph 168, pages 37 and 38?

3. What other issues and problems require better internal school communication?

4. What would be the relationship to the Board of Education of a "Friend" committee as proposed in paragraph 169, page 38?

5. What other problems facing the Chicago schools deserve "outstanding community leader" support?

Part *IV* of the Panel Report

Concluding Observations

Pages 39-43

"Concluding Observations,' pages 39-43, supplements the preceding sections of the Report. It is suggested that before reading this fourth part of the Report:

1 - the Resolution Establishing the Panel, page *VII* be reviewed.

2 - the thinking of the Panel and its recommendations be summarized.

Questions

1. What does the Panel suggest is the responsibility of the public school system for the existence of "de facto segregation' and what is the responsibility placed upon the school system by the Panel for its elimination?
2. What are the steps which you would suggest could be taken to mobilize the community as proposed in paragraph 174, page 40?
3. Are there problems not touched upon in the Report which would have to be overcome in mobilizing the community?
4. What are the problems that could be anticipated if attempts were made to alter the political boundaries of the city as implied in paragraph 178, page 41?
5. How does the Panel appraise the present situation in Chicago with respect to desegregation? (Paragraph 179, pages 41 and 42)
6. What does the Panel suggest should be the overwhelming concern of the public school system?
7. What is the function and role of the school as suggested by the Panel in Part *IV*?

NOTE: No guide is provided for the appendices contained in the Report of the Panel.

Supplement to this Guide

Readings

Illinois School Code (Armstrong Bill)

House Bill 113 amends Secs. 10-20.11, 10-21.3, 34-18 and 34-22 of The School Code of Illinois. Secs. 10-20.11 and 10-21.3 apply to school districts of less than 500,000 inhabitants and Secs. 34-18 and 34-22 apply to cities of over 500,000 inhabitants such as the City of Chicago. Both the downstate and Chicago sections of The School Code are amended by substantially identical language.

As amended in House Bill 113 (Armstrong Bill), sub-section 7 of Sec. 34-18 now reads:

> "7. To divide the city into sub-districts and apportion the pupils to the several schools, but no pupil shall be excluded from or segregated in any such school on account of his color, race or nationality. The board shall, as soon as practicable, and from time to time thereafter, change or revise existing sub-districts or create new sub-districts in a manner which will take into consideration the prevention of segregation and the elimination of separation of children in public schools because of color, race or nationality. All records pertaining to the creation, alteration or revision of sub-districts shall be open to the public;"
> (new amending language underscored)

Sec. 34-22 as amended now reads as follows:

> "Sec. 34-22. Buildings. The board may erect, purchase or otherwise acquire buildings suitable for school houses, for school administration, and for deriving revenues from school lands, erect temporary school structures, erect additions to, repair, rehabilitate and replace existing school buildings and temporary school structures and may furnish and equip school buildings and temporary school structures and may purchase or otherwise acquire and improve sites therefore, the furnishing and equipping to include but not be limited to furniture, libraries, apparatus, building and architectural supplies, fixtures generally used in school buildings, including but not limited to heating and ventilating systems, mechanical equipment, seats and desks, blackboards, window shades and curtains, gymnasium and recreation apparatus and equipment, auditorium and lunchroom equipment, and all items incidental thereto.

The board may use the proceeds of the sale of common school lands or any income from investments of such proceeds in its treasury on the effective date of this Act for the purpose of erecting, purchasing or otherwise acquiring buildings suitable for school houses, erecting additions to, repairing, improving, modernizing, rehabilitating and replacing existing school buildings, purchasing or otherwise acquiring and improving sites for such purposes.

"In erecting, purchasing or otherwise acquiring buildings for school purposes, the board shall not do so in such a manner as to promote segregation and separation of children in public schools because of color, race or nationality."
(new amending language underscored) (Ill. Rev. Stats. 1963, Chap. 122, Secs. 34-18 and 34-22)

Reference Readings

1. Annual Report of the General Superintendent, Chicago Public Schools, We Build Toward Excellence, 1961

2. Annual Report of the General Superintendent, Chicago Public Schools, Every Child is Special, 1962

3. Statement to the Board of Education by the General Superintendent of Schools, July 10, 1963

4. Chicago Public Schools Report (highlights of the program of Education in each District Superintendent's district), 1963, 1964

5. Report of the Special Summer Schools, Chicago Public Schools, 1963

Supplementary Activities

1. Visit a mobile unit classroom in your community. Call the district superintendent in your area to secure the address.

2. Visit a school in your community. Call the district superintendent in your area to secure the address.

3. Attend a meeting of the Board of Education. Meetings are held on the second and fourth Wednesday of each month at 2 P.M. on the third floor at 228 North La Salle Street. General Committee meetings, open to the public, are usually held immediately before each regular meeting.

4. Make a tour by automobile of some areas in the city where many new schools have been built in recent years:

   a. Between 39th Street and 55th Street and between State Street and Drexel Avenue

      Attucks - 3813 S. Dearborn Street
      Hartigan - 41st and State Streets
      McCorkle - 4421 S. State Street
      Beethoven - 47th and State Streets
      Du Sable Addition - 50th and State Streets
      Farren - 5055 South State Street
      Terrell - 5410 South State Street
      Overton - 221 East 49th Street
      Mollison - 4415 South Parkway
      Price - 4351 South Drexel Blvd.
      Reavis - 50th Street and Drexel Blvd.

b. In the vicinity of 79th Street and Pulaski Avenue

Bogan High School - 79th and Pulaski (4000 W)
Hancock - 4350 W. 79th Street
Stevenson - 8010 S. Kostner Avenue (4400 W)
Crerar - 8445 S. Kolin Avenue (4300 W)
Dawes - 3810 W. 81st Place
Michelson - 3639 W. 78th Place

c. Between Congress and Lake Streets, from the Loop to about 4400 West

Skinner - 111 S. Throop Street (1300 W)
Brown - 54 N. Hermitage Ave. (1700 W)
Birney - 120 N. Wood Street (1800 W)
Suder - 2022 W. Washington Blvd.
Dett - 2306 W. Maypole Avenue
Dodge - 2651 W. Washington Blvd.
Grant - 145 S. Campbell Avenue (2500 W)
Herbert - 2131 W. Monroe Street (100 S)
Cather - 2908 W. Washington Blvd.
Calhoun - 2833 W. Adams Street (200 S)
Ericson - 3600 W. Fifth Avenue (400 S)
Hefferan - 4409 W. Wilcox Avenue (132 S)
Marconi - 230 N. Kolmar Avenue (4534 W)